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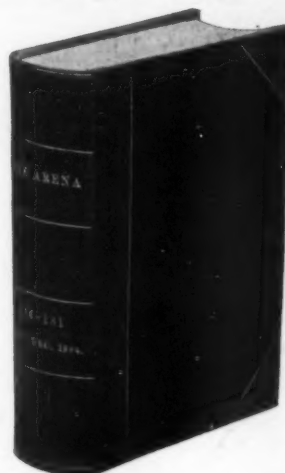
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CHARLES H. GRANT

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them,
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.*

The Arena

VOL. 35

MAY, 1906

No. 198

CRIMINAL WEALTH *versus* COMMON HONESTY.

BY ALBERT BRANDT.

I. THE OLIGARCHY OF THE CRIMINAL RICH THE GRAVEST MENACE TO THE REPUBLIC.

ONE QUESTION transcends all other issues calling for the immediate action of our people, because on it depends the fate of free institutions. For more than a quarter of a century a power has been at work in our civic and business life as sinister as it is destructive to democratic government; a power not altogether new, it is true, in political and commercial affairs, but now for the first time perfectly organized and so developed as to act as a formidable, sentient being whose growth has been as rapid as its evil influence has been far-reaching and pronounced. This baleful influence has now entrenched itself so firmly in city, state and national government and has become so arrogant and aggressive a force in the business world that it defies laws when it cannot prevent their enactment. Its high priests hold that it is immaterial to them what the courts desire to know. It has bulwarked itself behind untold millions of wealth largely acquired by indirection and criminal methods. It has surrounded itself by a bodyguard of

lawyers whose intellectual acuteness is only surpassed by their moral obloquy, and it assumes that it is not only above law but more powerful than is the government of the United States. This power—the communism of corrupt wealth, the feudalism of the criminal rich—must be destroyed or the Republic of the future will mask a despotism of privileged wealth as absolute in power as was the oligarchy that long ruled the so-called Republic of Venice, or as was Augustus Cæsar after he became the supreme power in the imperial republic of Rome.

At the outset let the line be clearly drawn between honest and dishonest wealth; between the money that has been earned by just labor or without injuring others, and the money that has been acquired by criminal methods—by methods as multitudinous as they are infamous and that have frequently embraced a crime that should rank with high treason—the corruption of the people's representatives. No danger confronts the Republic to-day comparable to the evil influence of the oligarchy of the criminal rich who are corrupting government, demoralizing business, obliterating the sense of moral proportion in church,

school and state, and through the power gained by evil methods are destroying respect for law while oppressing and exploiting the people.

The advance of the communism of corrupt wealth has of late been so rapid, the stream of gold diverted to the pockets of the criminals has become so great in volume, the corrupt practices of the beneficiaries have become so flagrant and insolently offensive and their assumptions of invincibility so obvious, that he must be dead to all the sentiments of noble patriotism, of justice and of common honesty who can be blind to the fact that we have reached a point where the people must choose between freedom and slavery; between democracy and the despotism of the criminal rich; between sound morality and a sordid materialism that flouts ethical idealism and all sentiments of civic duty and moral rectitude.

Fortunately for the nation, official investigations of the past year have laid bare the true condition of affairs among the great officials of the insurance world, fully establishing the grave and almost incredible charges that had been made of colossal criminal action carried on systematically for years by men who have posed as leaders in the world of Wall street and American business life. Since the commencement of the Armstrong investigation the curtain has been lifted from time to time, affording vivid glimpses of the criminal rich at work behind the scenes, and the spectacle has been so amazing and alarming in character that had not the facts been established under oath men would have been justified in regarding them with incredulity.

Now, however, since the investigation of the insurance companies is over, the harpies of Wall street are seeking to gloss over the crimes, to hush up the scandals and to reestablish the old order after pretended reformation. This must not be permitted. Less than ever must the people allow themselves to be lulled to sleep

at the present time. Only by a determined and sustained battle for the overthrow of corrupt wealth and the reenthronement of honesty and rectitude in political and business life can we be saved from a despotism of the corrupt rich which could only be overthrown by the shock, the waste and the ruin of a forcible revolution. To save the Republic to the people and to avert a revolution of bloodshed is the high duty of all true-minded patriots.

In the presence of the irrepressible conflict that is now pending perhaps nothing is so important as for the people to have brought clearly before them the picture of the criminal rich behind their breastworks, that they may see not only the methods and practices of the enemies of the Republic but also that they may appreciate how grave is the danger and solemn duty that confronts awakened patriotism.

The recent battle between an honest and incorruptible member of the investigating committee of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York and the frightened officials in control of the company, who shrank in apparent terror from an honest investigation, offers so striking and illuminating an illustration of the methods of modern high finance that I desire to present a somewhat circumstantial account of how the powers representing the present "system" strove, first, to prevent an investigation that might incriminate some of their own number and that would render impossible the continued maintenance of the insurance company for the enormous enrichment of Wall-street gamblers, and secondly, how they strove to destroy the business career of the man who could not be silenced. The story of the abortive attempt at investigation by the Truesdale Committee after the election of Mr. Peabody to the presidency of the company affords a vivid glimpse of the methods of those who represent the "system" that must be destroyed.

II. THE MUTUAL UNDER THE SEARCH-LIGHT OF THE ARMSTRONG COMMITTEE.

Before taking up the story of the Truesdale Committee's work and its aftermath, it will be well to call to mind a few facts brought out at the Armstrong investigation of the Mutual Life Insurance Company; not that these facts differ from the revelations relating to the Equitable or the New York Life, for the record of shame and criminality in the one was largely the story of each of the others, but because it is with the Mutual that we are especially concerned in this discussion.

Furthermore, let us not be misled by the systematic attempts that have been made in certain quarters to center the public mind on the McCalls and the McCurdys, as though they alone were responsible for the crimes committed. It is doubtless very convenient for the finance committee, the auditing committee and the other active directors whose personalities largely dominated the board, to have some scapegoats, whose confessions have already led to their ruin, for pack-beasts for the transgressions of the rest. But the public must not allow itself to be deceived on this vital question, for if the men who have condoned, tolerated, sanctioned and upheld the criminal methods of the past are allowed to remain the master-spirits of these great companies, even though under much healthier legal or legislative restrictions, it will be only a question of time before old evils will begin to creep in anew, for the master-spirits of Wall street do not care for the insurance companies if honestly run on the insurance basis. They want the possession and use of the vast sums contributed by the policy-holders for their numerous gambling exploits and other enterprises that are inimical to the best interests of sound business and the public weal. The McCurdys have sinned enough to answer for without seeking to create the idea that they alone among the active managing directors and dominating spir-

its of the Mutual were responsible for the evils wrought. Where were the members of the auditing committee and the finance committee, and above all, where were those who with President McCurdy made up the "inner circle" and who were so familiarly characterized by the discredited president as "my trustees"?

In this connection it is well to bear in mind some observations of Mr. Bullock in *THE ARENA* of last month, as they are important in view of the active part which at least one of the members of the "inner circle," Mr. Rogers, is said to have taken to strangle the searching investigation which had been promised and which Mr. Fish insisted upon being carried out. Among the directors whose affiliations were so intimate with Wall street that they felt little sympathy with the insurance idea of an insurance company were Mr. H. H. Rogers and Mr. George F. Baker, who "had long watched the McCurdy administration as members of the 'inner circle.' They allowed themselves to be affectionately termed by the former President of the company, 'my trustees.'" Mr. McCurdy's familiar and endearing term thus indicated the high place which these two gentlemen held in his consideration if not in his affection. They were the ranking members respectively of the agency and the finance committees, and we may well suppose they were in truth and fact of the "inner circle" and entitled to Mr. McCurdy's designation as *his members*, for they are not men to play the figure-head in any company in which they serve as chairmen. No dummy directors were H. H. Rogers and George F. Baker; of that we may be assured. And with this fact in mind let us glance at a few of the many astounding revelations which came to light after the *New York World*, with the pertinacity and determination of a bloodhound on the scent of a criminal band, forced the reluctant Governor of New York to permit the investigation which he had so long refused to grant and which he seemed to think would prove a public calamity.

Under oath it was shown that the beneficent safeguards which once protected the policy-holders in the insurance world were broken down that the management of the companies might have full license to gamble with, appropriate and waste the funds of the most sacred of all trusts. Step by step the "Big Three" insurance companies advanced in political sway, and with that advance the bars that protected the money of the insured were lowered, while bills demanded for the best interests and protection of the policy-holders were summarily killed through political influence exerted by the insurance companies and by their lobbies. A typical example of this character is found in the strangling of the bill framed to compel the companies to print the whole contract with the insured in the policy. This provision, so eminently fair and just, would have occasioned no opposition if the insurance companies had been operated on the insurance basis instead of being the spoil of Wall-street gamblers and criminals.

The crowning infamy, however, of insurance legislation inimical to the interests of the policy-holders was found in the passage of the famous act known as Section 56, which cleared the way for the looters and the criminal band so long as complacent attorneys-general could be chosen who would be as wax in the hands of the insurance chieftains. It is a startling commentary on the power and character of boss and machine-rule in the Empire State that no district-attorney since the passage of that infamous measure, and no insurance superintendent since the faithless officials of the "Big Three" companies became dominant powers in politics, disturbed the peace of the criminal rich in their riot of lawlessness, corruption and crime.

It does not appear that in the early days the Mutual Company was as much in evidence in seeking to reduce the political or the law-making and governing machinery of New York to complete subjugation to the interests and desires

of the criminals who managed the great companies as were the Equitable and the New York Life, but later it seemed bent on distancing all its competitors in its record of shame. Its pernicious activity in this respect indicated that the master-minds at the helm did not propose that the policy-holders or the friends or the honor of the State should have any chance whatsoever for success through any measure that thwarted the selfish ends of the great money lords of the Street who had seized upon the vast treasures of insurance wealth.

From 1895 the Mutual maintained a house at Albany popularly known as the "House of Mirth." It was the headquarters of the Mutual at the State capital. Here open house was kept for the legislators. Here, too, was the headquarters of Andrew C. Fields of unsavory reputation, who controlled vast sums for the Mutual and who conveniently disappeared when the Armstrong committee desired his presence. Fields was the legislative Man Friday of the Mutual Life, as Hamilton was the prince of lobbyists for the New York Life.

In the year 1904 the books of the Mutual showed expenses charged to advertising, printing, postage and stationery amounting to \$1,134,833. Nearly all this enormous sum was expended in Mr. Fields' department. The care-taker of the "House of Mirth" was one Michael E. Mellaney, who receipted for many vouchers. Some were unquestionably for expenses of the house. Others appear as "for legal expenses." During the investigation of Mr. Mellaney Mr. Hughes asked the question:

"Are you a lawyer?"

"No, sir," replied the witness.

"Have you ever rendered any legal services to the Mutual Life?"

"No, sir."

"This voucher," replied the examiner, "for \$225 reads 'for legal expenses in full to date.'"

The witness said he did not know why he signed some vouchers for legal ex-

penses and some for services as caretaker. "Legal expenses," like postage, stationery, advertising and printing, appear to have been made by the inner circle or active officials of the Mutual the convenient cover for expenditures the character of which they did not dare to confess by honest entry on the books.

At this "House of Mirth" maintained by the Mutual at Albany, the influence of which could not be other than subversive of the interests of the policy-holders and demoralizing to the people's representatives, there resided, free of cost to the individuals, at least two of the people's legislators. One was Senator Charles P. McClelland, who prior to his election to the State Senate had been for six years the hired attorney of the Mutual Life Company, retained at \$3,000 a year. It was after he was elected to the Senate that he enjoyed a free berth at the Mutual's headquarters.

We get a hint of the kind of men that the insurance companies foisted on the people as law-makers in the following illuminating bit of testimony brought out by Mr. Hughes when Mr. McClelland was on the witness-stand:

"Q. 'Were you ever employed by the Equitable Life?'

"A. 'I was never employed by the Equitable Life.'

"Q. 'You do n't mean that, Senator, do you?'

"A. 'I was never employed by the Equitable Life or any insurance company other than the Mutual.'

"Mr. Hughes stared steadily at the witness for a moment or two, and then, handing him a piece of paper, asked quietly:

"Is that your signature?'

"The witness looked at it for some time, turned it over, shifted about in his chair, and then said:

"It is.'

"I'll read this upon the record,' said Mr. Hughes.

"The paper was a voucher represent-

ing a payment to McClelland by the Equitable Life of \$3,500 on May 2, 1898. The body of the receipt was in McClelland's handwriting, a fact which he admitted. There was a blue stamp on the voucher, which in the Equitable office is used to indicate payments made in cash. On the corner of the voucher were written the words, 'F. Water Account.'

"Q. 'Are you prepared now to say positively you were never retained by the Equitable Life?'

"A. 'I have no recollection whatever of this payment or of doing anything for the Equitable Life.'

"Q. 'What is the meaning of "Water Account"?''

"A. 'I do not know.'

"Q. 'Is n't this whole voucher in your own handwriting?'

"A. 'It is; the whole thing.'

The New York *World* in an editorial published October 11, 1905, after referring to the policy-holders' money wrongfully contributed to campaign funds, thus referred to the even more dangerous methods of debauching political life and corrupting the people's servants employed by the insurance companies, which were known to and apparently approved by the acting directors who were cognizant of what was going on:

"But these contributions are insignificant compared with the hundreds of thousands of dollars annually paid for secret purposes and charged to the advertising, stationery and legal-expense funds.

"These payments were for corrupt purposes. The men who made them were ashamed to enter them truthfully on their books. The men who took them gave no receipts and rendered no services of record.

"Mr. Olyphant's testimony discloses a depth of degradation beyond the Hamilton or the Thummel or the Maine disclosures. Mr. Olyphant is a man of wealth, respectability and high social and business standing. He is President of the Albany and Susquehanna Railroad,

director of other railroads, President of the Hudson River Ore Company and director of several banks and trust companies. He is not a dummy in them, and he was not a dummy director in the Mutual Life. He knew what he was doing when he drew out the cash and turned it over to 'counsel' for 'confidential' services.

"Does Mr. Olyphant do in his other corporations what he did in the Mutual?"

"Unless he had one ethical standard in the Mutual's affairs and another in railroad matters, a similar procedure must have been followed in his other corporate matters which legislation might affect. How many other prominent, respectable men are there in Wall street who have a financial, a moral and a political code of their own?"

These things are merely illustrative hints of the astounding revelations made by the Armstrong committee touching insurance corruption as it related to the politics of the Empire State—revelations that showed how the great predatory bands had become the absolute rulers and masters of the people in all insurance matters, governing so completely as to make them secure during long years marked by almost incredible corruption and criminal practices.

To the student of government no fact brought out by the Armstrong investigation was so strikingly significant or instructive as this illustration of how, through campaign contributions, through control of political leaders or bosses, some of whom were openly retained by generous fees as counsel, through compassing the elevation of tools to places of power, and by means of a powerful lobby, a few daring, unscrupulous and conscienceless men were able to make themselves the masters in the province of government which concerned their selfish interests, to this extent destroying popular government by making it the instrument for the protection of a privileged few while they plundered the innocent,

dissipated sacred trust funds and engaged in various kinds of criminal acts. The Armstrong committee uncovered a condition which affords a striking concrete illustration of the nation-wide evil against which the people are everywhere rising in righteous revolt—the domination of rulership of privileged groups or classes through party machines, corrupt bosses, unscrupulous agents and venal public servants; and it affords another example of the fact that government is always operated in the interests and for the benefit of the real rulers.

King Charles regarded the English people as his prey and sought to operate the government for his personal benefit. The nobility in feudal days ruled in the interests and for the benefit of the aristocratic few. The democratic monarchy of England after the passage of the Reform Bill ruled in the interests of the king, the aristocracy and the middle class. Now at length labor in Great Britain is asserting itself and the benefits of government are being extended to the proletariat.

With us, we have departed from the splendid democratic ideals of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln, or rather have allowed unscrupulous, lawless and criminal bands to gain a sinister hold on city state and national government, and they have seized the opportunity to further enlarge their privileges and power, to further strengthen their hold on government, and to make it more and more responsive to their selfish ends and their inordinate lust for gold. This is one capital lesson impressed by the Armstrong revelations relating to the domination of political life by insurance companies.

With the law-making branch of government under control, with the examining and law-enforcing departments drugged to sleep or complacent to the wishes of the criminal rich who ruled the "Big Three," all was clear sailing, and we see the result to be precisely the same as has ever followed when irresponsible power is given to a privileged few who follow

their selfish wishes irrespective of the rights or interests of others.

The dividends to policy-holders in the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York had been liberal far back in the seventies, in the days which preceded the complete insurance control of the political situation, but these dividends rapidly fell as the riot of graft progressed which came in the wake of irresponsible control. President Richard A. McCurdy, basking in the favor of Messrs. Rogers and Baker—"my trustees"—and finding not only the "inner circle" but all those engaged in the company responsive to his wish, was soon enjoying a salary of \$150,000 a year, or three times that received by the President of the Republic. Notwithstanding the fact that he swore on the witness-stand to such astounding ignorance in regard to every important fact relating to the operations of the company that, did he swear truly, his own testimony would have convicted him of a degree of ignorance inexcusable in a feeble-minded individual whose brain capacity would not entitle him to a salary of ten dollars a week, there were some facts which he was forced to admit, and among these it was developed that thirty years ago large dividends were paid to the policy-holders of the Mutual, but that with the steadily increasing salaries and lavish expenditures on the part of the officials and favored employes there was a steady decrease in returns to the policy-holders. One case cited will prove illustrative. On one five-thousand-dollar policy the dividend decreased from \$149.96 in 1872 to \$110 in 1889, \$50 in 1893, \$22 in 1903, and \$7 in 1904!

While the policy-holders of the Mutual were being thus defrauded of their dividends, the McCurdy family income soared skyward. Thus it was shown that since 1884 Richard A. McCurdy had drawn in salary from the company \$1,841,666. Since 1886 his son, Robert H. McCurdy, had drawn in salary and commissions \$1,759,622; while since 1892 his son-in-law, Louis A. Thebaud, had received

from the company \$932,831, making a grand total of \$4,534,119 paid the three members of the McCurdy family within twenty-one years! Some idea of the magnitude of the graft enjoyed by these three guardians of the trust funds may be gained by calling to mind a fact pointed out at the time of the investigation: that the twenty-five presidents of the United States, from Washington to Roosevelt inclusive, during a period of 116 years received \$900,000 less than the amount paid to the McCurdys within a little more than a score of years.

The McCurdy incomes were typical of the wanton waste of the policy-holders' money that marked the administration of the company. It mattered not in what direction Mr. Hughes turned, he was sure at every step to come upon amazing exhibitions of wastefulness, corruption and criminality. As in the Equitable, so in the Mutual, syndicates were formed so that insiders could reap rich profits without risk. Thus we find Frederic Cromwell, treasurer of the Mutual and member of the finance committee, personally reaped \$26,371.52 from fifteen syndicates. In many instances Mr. Cromwell did not put up a cent of money or buy a bond. The following questions by Mr. Hughes and answers by Mr. Cromwell tell this story:

"Q. 'You participated in this syndicate?'"

"A. 'Yes.'"

"Q. 'Did you put up any money?'"

"A. 'No.'"

"Q. 'Did you buy any of the bonds?'"

"A. 'No.'"

"Q. 'But you received your share of the profits?'"

"A. 'Yes.'"

"Q. 'The Mutual Life contributed by its purchase to the profits of the syndicate available for distribution among its members?'"

"A. 'Yes.'"

In an open letter to Governor Higgins, published on September 26th in the New

York *World*, the editor calls the attention of the Governor to these facts:

"Directors of the Mutual Life bought two old charters, for one of which they paid \$30,000 and for the other \$50,000. This money was their own. They used these charters to organize two trust companies, issuing stock at a price of \$150 per share. They sold about one-third of the stock to the Mutual at from five to six times par.

"The trustees of the Mutual Life deposited its money at a low rate of interest in banks and trust companies in which they owned stock.

"They also formed syndicates and with the use of the policy-holders' money made more valuable their individual syndicate shares. They turned their trust funds over to subsidiary companies and made themselves beneficiaries at the policy-holders' expense."

As the revelations of insurance corruption by which the great companies became masters of the political situation as it related to the control of the insurance situation in the Empire State afforded a concrete example of the nation-wide effort of corporate or privileged wealth to gain control of city, state and nation, so the revelations of the inside workings of the great insurance companies of New York afforded a startling illustration of the prevailing methods among Wall-street gamblers and grafters—the prevailing practices of our criminal rich.

On October 8th the New York *World* thus concisely summed up some of the facts that had been established during the Armstrong investigation:

"Taking their own testimony, often in the form of written statements, it appears that the highest officials of the great life insurance companies have been guilty of violating not only the moral law and the ethical law of the community, but the insurance law and the penal code of the State of New York, both of which statutes are speedily enforced against small offenders.

"It has been confessed:

"1. That the three great life insurance companies, the New York Life, the Mutual and the Equitable, jointly maintained a lobby fund for the corrupt influencing of legislation and the Insurance Departments of the various states; that John A. McCall supervised the expenditure of this fund through his man Andrew Hamilton; that the policy-holders' money was used to pay lobbyists without legal warrant and in violation of the penal code.

"2. That the money of the policy-holders was given to political committees, which, as Governor Folk says, is embezzlement.

"3. That false books of account were kept in which these illegal payments did not appear. The falsifying of books of account is forgery.

"4. That officers of the companies, Mr. Perkins in particular, acted as trustees in dealing with themselves as individuals to their personal profit at the expense of the trust funds in their keeping. This is a flagrant violation of law.

"5. That subsidiary corporations were formed at the expense of the policy-holders, and that the trustees as stockholders in the parasite corporations used trust funds for their own benefit.

"6. That the McCurdys, the McCalls, the Hydes and the Alexanders paid themselves vast sums of the policy-holders' money and paid over other vast sums to their relatives; that even the bare forms of voting this money to themselves were not always complied with.

"7. That annual statements were made to the Insurance Superintendent which were not true, the making of which is a crime and the certification of which by the Superintendent was official misconduct.

"8. That money due the old policy-holders as dividends earned was taken to make up deficiencies on the new business caused by extravagant expenditure.

"9. That officials, John A. McCall among others, borrowed money from life-insurance companies of which they were

officers, in violation of the insurance law.

"10. That leading officials were guilty of forgery, of obtaining money under false pretenses, of embezzlement, of perjury, of issuing false statements and of official corporate misconduct.

"It is not disputed that all these have been done, and more."

It is not strange that these revelations checked the golden stream that had been pouring into the treasuries of the insurance companies, while they aroused the indignation of every lover of justice and honesty throughout the nation. Something had to be done in order to restore the confidence of the people and to prevent fundamental or drastic legislation which would bring the insurance companies back to the insurance basis and prevent their treasuries from continuing the spoil of the Rogerses, the Ryans and the Morgans. Hence house-cleaning committees composed of members of the various insurance companies were in order.

III. WHY THE CRIMINAL RICH FEAR LITTLE FROM HOUSE-CLEANING COM- MITTEES COMPOSED OF BUSI- NESS MAGNATES.

It will be remembered that on the very eve of the New York *Times*' publication of the official records that established the stupendous criminality of the Tweed Ring and its leading members, the great thieves secured a vindicating report from a committee of leading New York business men whose probity or integrity had never been questioned, and these gentlemen declared in so many words, as the result of their personal investigations, that: "We have come to the conclusion and certify that the financial affairs of the city under the charge of the Comptroller are administered in a correct and faithful manner."

So high was the standing of the men who composed this committee that the critics of the Ring were discredited, even

in the face of facts that should have been presumptive evidence of the theft of millions, and there can be little doubt but what the report of these prominent business men would have secured a lengthened term of official power for the great criminals had not the *Times* obtained and published the irrefutable proof of the theft of millions. In passing it should be observed that later it was discovered that these highly respectable New York business men were having their taxes remitted by the Ring.

Since that time, whenever criminality and moral turpitude on the part of influential political bosses, officials in important positions, or master-spirits of Wall street and the great corporations have been so well established that the public refuses to dismiss the charges against the criminals as irresponsible accusations of sensation-mongers, officials enjoying the confidence of the public or business men's committees have been called into requisition to allay the growing clamor for an honest outside investigation of the charges and the reports of these examiners who enjoy the confidence of the people have served to confuse the public mind and throw dust in the eyes of the masses, under cover of which the accused have been able to beat a successful retreat until new sensations and disclosures have diverted the attention of the public from their criminality. Not unfrequently they have even dared to pose as martyrs before the public.

Often these reports of honored public officials or of whitewashing committees composed of business men enjoying the confidence of the public have occasioned perplexity and amazement on the part of many thoughtful people. They have overlooked certain all-important facts without the consideration of which the actions that have discredited so many so-called investigations by people of eminent respectability are inexplicable.

Since the rise of the political boss and the perfecting of the partisan machine, officials who enjoy the confidence of the

public have been placed largely at the mercy of the boss and the great interests which control him and are the secret of his strength. To oppose the interests of either the so-called boss or his real masters means political destruction, while to be complacent to the interests and blind to facts means political security and advancement. So, even in a greater degree, are prominent men of Wall street and the world of business to-day beholden to the master-spirits of a few great corporations and financial institutions. Men naturally high-minded and who under just and honesty-favoring conditions would be strictly upright, soon become involved in a net of fatally downward-tending influences when they enter Wall street or become active heads of great corporations. Sometimes in the sudden turn of the wheel they find themselves in a close place where their business life is at stake, and at this critical moment one of the great master-spirits of Wall street comes to their aid and thus lays a strong claim upon them for future recognition of a kindness that saved the threatened ones from ruin.

Again, the great business interests, the public-service corporations, the trusts, monopolies and banks, are all inextricably bound together. Their interests not only overlap and intertwine, but the criminal rich in certain great and lawless trusts and corporations have reached a point where their word is law in many places where their influence is little dreamed of by the public. And lastly, none know better than the prominent men in the financial and business world what it means to seriously antagonize the Standard Oil Company or the Harriman, Morgan and Ryan interests. He who stands for old-time honesty and justice when such stand threatens the great dominant influences in Wall street, courts business destruction.

And thus it is that the master-spirits of the Street no less than the criminal rich who systematically corrupt the people's servants and defy laws enacted to protect the public from the rapacity of the great

commercial brigands, feel little dread of house-cleaning committees composed of members of the corporations under fire. It is important to bear in mind these facts as they explain and illustrate many things that have been perplexing the general public and are very germane to the subject under consideration.

IV. HOUSE-CLEANING COMMITTEES BECOME THE ORDER OF THE DAY.

Early in October the investigation conducted by the Armstrong committee had progressed far enough to show the criminal rich that they were in the hands of a political committee quite unlike the ordinary whitewashing committees which from time to time cover up scandals that are brought to light through the press and other agencies. Mr. Hughes had created consternation in the ranks by his searching methods and it was apparent that he could not be bullied or bribed to swerve from the path of duty. The developments also disclosed such a carnival of criminality in the great insurance companies under investigation that the master-spirits—not only those most conspicuous in the insurance world, but also the great Wall-street gamblers and heads of certain powerful corporations which had long directly or indirectly fattened off of the vast funds contributed by the policy-holders—became thoroughly alarmed. The public had been aroused to a dangerous pass. The hour had passed when the exposures and revelations could be sneered at or denounced as sensational lies and malicious slander. A general demand had gone forth for the punishment of the great criminals and for the taking of the insurance corporations out of the hands of the criminal rich and the Wall-street gamblers and so safeguarding them that hereafter they would be conducted on an insurance and not a Wall-street basis.

To the perturbed spirits of the Street who had failed in preventing a legislative investigation, it was evident that some-

thing must be promptly done to allay the public clamor no less than to restore the confidence of the people in the insurance companies. Hence Mr. Ryan's unique plan for personal mastery of the Equitable behind an imposing front of respectability; hence the widely trumpeted acquisition of Grover Cleveland as a twelve-thousand-dollar-a-year "harmonizer" with headquarters in the quiet town of Princeton; hence the house-cleaning committees appointed by the New York Life and the Mutual Life.

It is with the Mutual that we are at present concerned. Conditions had reached a point where it was imperative that the members who composed the committee should stand high in public esteem and not be under the suspicion of being the tools of the McCurdys. The committee originally appointed consisted of William H. Truesdale, president of one of the great coal railroads, the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western; John W. Auchincloss, a wealthy cotton-broker; and Effingham B. Morris, a Philadelphia banker. Mr. Morris refused to serve and Mr. Stuyvesant Fish was chosen to fill the vacancy.

Mr. Fish accepted the position only on condition that it should be agreed that faith should be kept with the people and that the committee be empowered to make a searching, thorough and honest investigation. He refused to become a party to a scheme to deceive the public or to whitewash those guilty of indefensible conduct and criminal acts.

These conditions were agreed to. Soon after the committee began its investigation the criminal element began to grow uneasy. It appeared that the same spirit that animated Mr. Hughes also dominated the committee. First it became apparent that the McCurdys were in danger. The sworn testimony touching this family, brought out at the Armstrong investigation, was of so damning a character that the more cautious of their friends in the Mutual early became convinced that it might become a disagreeable

necessity to make them the scapegoats for the sins of the company in order to retain the Mutual in the grasp of the Wall-street contingent.

But difficulties were in the way. There was some doubt as to how the McCurdys would take the proposition that they become the sacrificial goats or lambs for the guilty of the Mutual household. It was idle to imagine that the public would accept claims that the "inner circle" and the financial and auditing committees and various others who had been very active in Mutual affairs were in blissful ignorance of the riot of corruption that had long marked the management of the McCurdys' "missionary society," if the President and his son refused to be dumbly offered up and should insist on revealing all they knew.

Then again, the wrathful condemnation by the public of District-Attorney Jerome for his inexplicable refusal to move against the McCurdys might become so strong as to force his action, and then ugly facts and revelations might easily be brought out under examination that would be painful to the feelings and perilous to the freedom of parties high in insurance affairs.

Among those who advised the committee during its early meetings was Mr. Julian T. Davies, a director of the Mutual who served with Mr. Rogers on the agency committee and who was a little later appointed general solicitor for the Mutual. Mr. Davies as adviser of the committee in its early sessions strongly urged the advisability of at once compromising with Richard A. McCurdy, Robert H. McCurdy, and Charles H. Raymond & Company. But the members of the committee were in no mood to discredit themselves and add to the bad repute of the Mutual by attempting any such a task as the whitewashing of men whose wrongdoing was so clearly established.

It appears that the McCurdys, who had been so brazen and defiant, at length became alarmed as the character of the

forthcoming preliminary report became known to them, and on November 16th, at the meeting of the board, when the first bomb was thrown into the Mutual camp from the investigating committee in the way of a preliminary report, President Richard A. McCurdy made an address which, though well calculated to stagger even Mr. Rogers by its brazen audacity and recklessness, was perhaps chiefly noticeable for its artless humor.

V. MR. M'CURDY'S AMAZING ADDRESS.

In this speech it was evident that Mr. McCurdy in the presence of the aggressively honest stand taken by the committee had seen a new light since October 10th, when he testified before the Armstrong committee.

The reader will remember that it was shown by Mr. Hughes that under Mr. McCurdy's management the dividends of the Mutual had steadily decreased; that on one five thousand dollar policy the dividends had dropped from \$149.96 in 1872 to only \$7 in 1904. And it will also be remembered that President McCurdy defended this defrauding of the policy-holders of their dividends in his now famous disquisition on the Mutual as a "missionary society," in which he said:

"The Mutual Life Insurance Company was organized upon the theory of the men who introduced it at that time that it was a great beneficent missionary institution. Profits were not thought of, were not dreamed of. It was not the object to declare a dividend to a man; it was not the object that he should carry a policy of \$2,500 or \$3,000 and pay the premium of \$19.28, or whatever it might be, and then at the end of the year get \$7 and go home and spend it for cigars and billiards. The object was to insure as many men as possible and to pay them at the time of their death, and not during their lifetime one penny."

Yet in his address on November 16th before the board of directors of the Mutual we find him saying:

"It seems to me that additional efforts should be made at the present time by all departments to decrease the net cost of insurance to the policy-holders and to increase their dividends. This can best be accomplished by economies and the curtailment of our expenses."

It is difficult to imagine the trustees of the Mutual maintaining sober countenances during the address in which Mr. McCurdy gravely informed his associates that they had all "labored together for the common purpose of making the Mutual Life . . . the most beneficent insurance company in the world."

And again, when referring to the plucked policy-holders he said:

"I assert that it has been conducted for their benefit and for their benefit alone."

It was not, however, until the President reached the question of influencing public legislation that he shone as an humorist *par excellence*. On this point he said:

"I think also that a great reduction should be made in all expenses for legislative purposes. Indeed, for the future my view is that the defeat of proposed legislation hostile to the interests of the policy-holders should be left to them."

If Mr. Rogers had been in a mood to have enjoyed genuine humor, we imagine he would have highly appreciated this piece of drollery, as he and his friends of the "inner circle" and of the finance, auditing and agency committees remembered Section 56 of the Insurance Code. It is probable, however, that the gentlemen of the "inner circle" known as "my trustees" were not in a frame of mind to properly appreciate the artless humor of President McCurdy. A preliminary report was to be read and to go before the world that was not calculated to strengthen the position of those who were bent on

retaining their hold on the vast insurance capital for Wall-street purposes.

The first preliminary report furnished the board by the committee at this meeting was published to the world and was so widely discussed that it does not call for special notice at the present time. Sufficient to say that it contained a severe arraignment of the McCurdy management and made such radical and wholesome suggestions that it was hailed with satisfaction by the public, who entertained a belief that at last a committee had been found that would prove superior to the machinations of the sinister element that had long been in control of, or at least had exerted a powerful influence over, the Mutual.

We can easily understand, however, that certain officials and members of the board of trustees were seriously disturbed by the report, and certain it is that from November 16th friction developed in the Mutual household between the friends of aggressive honesty and those who dreaded the results of a searching investigation no less than the great Wall-street gamblers who were bent on retaining the Mutual on the Wall-street basis rather than on the insurance basis.

VI. THE FAMOUS REQUISITION WHICH CAUSED CONSTERNATION IN THE CAMP.

On the twenty-sixth of December the committee sent its famous requisition to acting President Frederic Cromwell, which appears to have struck terror to the hearts of more than one of "the powers that be" in the Mutual. It indicated that the committee proposed to conduct an honest investigation, without fear or favor, and that it proposed to go to the very root of insurance corruption in so far as it related to the Mutual, and furthermore, that the evil-doers might expect no whitewashing at its hands. In order that the reader may gain a full understanding of the meaning of this struggle between light and darkness, between Wall-street

methods and common honesty, it will be necessary to give the substance of this requisition, which, it should be remembered, was signed by all three members of the committee. The communication begins with the following paragraph addressed to the acting president:

"The Committee appointed October 25, 1905, by the Board of Trustees of the Mutual Life Insurance Company, 'to examine into the organization, management and the affairs of the Company,' hereby requests from you, at as early a day as possible and in writing, duly verified by you or the heads of the respective departments, or others making the statements, the following information as to the management of the Company."

After explaining that the term "employé" is intended to include *the trustees and all officials of the company, from the president down*, as well as others in the pay of the company, the instrument, among other things, calls for:

"First: If any employé of the Company has any business relation with any other company or corporation in which the Mutual Life Insurance Company has stock or any interest, then give the name of such employé, his position with the other company or corporation, and the compensation he receives therefor. If any employé in any shape, manner or form has received or is receiving, directly or indirectly, any perquisites from the Mutual Life or such other corporation or company other than his salary or stated compensation, give the amount of such perquisites—why and how received, and for how long the same have been received, and what officer of the Mutual Life authorized the same.

"Second: Also a detailed statement of the holdings or interest of the Mutual Life Insurance Company in the Guaranty Trust Company, the Fifth Avenue Trust Company, National Bank of Commerce in New York, Commercial Trust Company of New York, Morton Trust Company, Lawyers' Title Insurance and Trust Company, Lawyers' Mortgage Company, Title Guarantee and Trust Company, Mutual Alliance Trust Company, Morristown Trust Company, Bank of California, and also in any other trust or title or safe deposit company or bank or banking company whatsoever. With this statement please give the date when each holding or interest was acquired, by whose authority and how it was acquired and what was paid for the same and from whom the same was acquired and to whom the payment was made.

"Third: A statement on date of last dividend payment, giving such date, of the individual holdings or interest of any trustee or officer of the Mutual Life Insurance Company in any of the institutions mentioned or referred to above.

"Fourth: Also a statement of all the terms of each of the leases or contracts by which the Company leases to any person or persons, firm, corporation or company any portion of its office buildings in

New York City, with a statement of who authorized such leases and when and through whom each was respectively made.

"*Fifth:* Also a statement of all the loans of any kind since January 1, 1900, excepting loans on policies, made by the Company to any one of its employes, and a statement showing who authorized the loan, by whom the loan was negotiated, to whom it was made, in what form made, for how much, how it was and is secured, and what the rate of interest and evidence of indebtedness are and have been. If any such loans have been paid, date of payment, to what person paid and by whom paid.

"*Sixth:* Also a statement of all dealings since January 1, 1900, of any kind, by which any broker or brokers, or firm, corporation or individual has sold to or for the company any stocks, bonds or securities or property of any kind, including all the so-called underwritings and syndicate participations by the Company—and here give the name of the broker or firm or corporation or individual—the property sold to or for the Company, what the Company paid or received for the same, to whom it made payment, by what authority it was authorized, and what became of the property, underwriting or syndicate participations.

"If in any way any employé (including officers and trustees of the Company) received any compensation or benefit from any such transaction, please state who he was, what he received, for what he received it, who paid it to him and what officer of the Company authorized such compensation or benefit to be given him.

"Also a statement of all underwritings or syndicate participations of or made by or for the Mutual Life Insurance Company from January 1, 1900, to October 1, 1905, either directly or indirectly, in its own name or in the name or names of other corporations or individuals; also a statement of the underwriting, interest or participation, direct or indirect, of every officer or trustee of the Mutual Life in the underwritings or syndicates above referred to.

"If in any way any officer or director or trustee or employé of the Company has by reason of and because he was in such relation to the Company received from or because of any such transaction any money or other thing of value, or any money or property of any kind belonging to or intended for the Company, give his name, what he received, when he received it and from whom he received it.

"*Seventh:* Also a statement showing in detail the losses, if any, to the Company since January 1, 1900, on any property of any kind, real or personal, purchased by it, giving the names of the persons who sold the same to the Company, the sum for which the property was so sold to it and paid for by it, when it was so sold and who on behalf of the Company authorized the purchase and sale or either.

"*Eighth:* Also a statement showing any transactions of any kind other than designated above, by which any officer, trustee or employé of the Company has received money or other valuable thing from or by reason of his connection with the Company, outside of and not part of his regular salary or compensation. If any such there be, give the details and the names of the persons."

The committee further requested that copies of the letter be transmitted to all

officers, trustees and heads of departments, and that notification be sent to employes to facilitate the collecting of the data.

In view of the general corruption that cropped out at every turn in the investigation conducted by Mr. Hughes, we can easily understand how real must have been the terror of some officials of the company. That they shrank in dread from the results of an honest investigation such as Messrs. Truesdale, Auchincloss and Fish had solemnly pledged the public and the policy-holders was clearly demonstrated by future events.

Clearly the time had arrived when a man was needed for the presidency acceptable to Wall-street interests and one who could be depended upon to hold up the committee and put a quietus on its action if it could not be driven from its brave stand for honesty and moral rectitude by such pressure as the Standard Oil Company so well understands how to employ.

Among the men considered for the presidency of the Mutual Mr. Charles A. Peabody was altogether acceptable to Mr. Rogers and those who were bent on putting a stop to the thorough-going investigation that the committee had undertaken and which in the opinion of the committee, up to December 26th, demanded the proceedings indicated in the requisition.

Mr. Peabody had been a personal friend of Mr. Fish, the member of the committee whose aggressive honesty and fearlessness had so alarmed the criminal rich and the Wall-street contingent. Mr. Fish had "made him," as the saying goes. Mr. Fish had introduced Mr. Peabody to Mr. H. H. Rogers and Mr. George F. Baker of the "inner circle." Mr. Peabody was the personal counsel of the latter. He was a prominent director in the Hariman Union Pacific Railway Company, which the Standard Oil group controls. In short, he was the man of all men to serve the double purpose of supplying the company with a respectable figurehead and

of checking the aggressive action of the committee if it continued to prove refractory. At least, such seems to have been the well-founded conclusion of Mr. Rogers and his friends. Mr. Fish opposed the election of any president until the investigation had been completed, but "the interests" were in no mood to temporize, and he was overruled. Mr. Peabody was elected and the choice was heralded in the press as a triumph for the Standard Oil Company.

The requisition, it will be observed, did not stop short at the McCurdys. It sought to bring to light all facts relating to criminal or illegal acts, whether committed by men who were to be the scapegoats or by others who on investigation might prove to be fit wards for the State. It is difficult to imagine any reason why honest trustees or officials should have shrunk from the only kind of investigation that by any possibility could satisfy the more thoughtful public after the revelations of corruption, graft and criminality brought forth during the Armstrong investigation.

From the sending of the requisition of December 26th the relations between those who favored an honest investigation and those who were bent on a whitewashing report became more and more strained. That the new president was in accord with the Standard Oil contingent was obvious from his actions, and it soon developed that Mr. Truesdale had shown the white feather, as without the consent of Mr. Fish or Mr. Auchincloss he had told President Peabody that he need not comply with the committee's requisition at that time. This change of front on the part of Mr. Truesdale, of course, may not have been due to the opposition of Mr. Rogers and the Standard Oil contingent to the proposed thorough investigation, and no pressure may have been brought to bear to make him go completely back on his deliberate action recorded in the memorable requisition of December 26th. But there are certain facts that will obtrude themselves

in the reader's mind when he seeks for a plausible explanation of this astounding change of front. He will remember that Mr. Truesdale is President of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad, on the board of which sit such men as William Rockefeller, James Stillman, President of the National City Bank of New York, better known as the Standard Oil Bank, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and George F. Baker; and, as Mr. Bullock pointed out in *THE ARENA* last month, "it needs no demonstration that men of this caliber do not sit in corporations for nothing, and they compel obedience from all in their employ, whether as presidents of their great railroad systems or as footmen on their carriages."

Whether pressure was brought to bear in a more or less brutal manner or not, whether a delicate hint was thrown out, or whether some other and less obviously probable explanation may account for this astounding recreancy to the avowed purpose of the committee in its investigation and to the course decided on deliberately and maturely before the signing of the requisition of the twenty-sixth of December with the approval of the distinguished counsel, we, of course, cannot determine. Certain it is that Mr. Truesdale deserted to the enemy and was followed by Mr. Auchincloss, leaving Mr. Fish to battle alone for the honor of the company and the good faith of the committee.

Mr. Peabody's failure to act with reasonable promptitude on the suggestions of the committee as outlined in the fourth preliminary report, issued on December 27th, in which the committee had urged that action be commenced against Richard A. McCurdy to recover excess of salary paid him, against Robert H. McCurdy to recover excess of payments, and against Charles H. Raymond & Company to recover any excess of payments or allowances made and to annul contract, at length called forth a memorable letter from Justice Peckham of the United States Supreme Court, dictated on Feb-

ruary 12th. Justice Peckham was at that time a director in the Mutual and he viewed with amazement the dilatory policy of the company since the election of Mr. Peabody, especially in view of the fact that the McCurdys were said to be preparing to fly to Europe. In his letter Justice Peckham said:

"I see that it is publicly stated that Mr. McCurdy is preparing to leave for Europe, to remain indefinitely. I think it would be an inexcusable mistake for the Mutual Company to permit him to leave this country without the commencement of an action against him in the name of the company, to recover back the money he may owe it. The Attorney-General might properly find fault that the company was not itself doing its utmost to reclaim the money wrongfully obtained by Mr. McCurdy, the chief delinquent in the case. As you may suppose, I take the greatest interest in the matter and I feel as if an action ought to be commenced before the departure of Mr. McCurdy for Europe. Does it not so appear to you? The Board, at its last meeting, as I understand it, gave authority to the President to commence any action which the counsel advised, and such counsel advised as to Mr. McCurdy that an action could be maintained against him.

"Surely no further delay ought to be had, which might result in Mr. McCurdy's departure without action against him. I write your Committee because your action carries great weight, and I hope it may be in the line of urging the immediate commencement of a suit against Mr. McCurdy."

The strained relations that had developed in the committee by the deflection of Messrs. Truesdale and Auchincloss from the course agreed upon and maturely marked out by all their number before the development of hostility on the part of the Standard Oil and Wall-street elements, were the talk of the Street during January and the early part of February. One man, however, seemed to have re-

mained in blissful ignorance of any friction,—a man who one would suppose would necessarily have known all about it. But Mr. Charles A. Peabody, the new president, seemed by some strange fatality to have become affected by the inexplicable ignorance that was the most conspicuous characteristic of the former president, Mr. Richard A. McCurdy, when before the Armstrong committee; for in the *New York Herald* of February 11th appeared a most astounding interview with Mr. Peabody in which the new president of the Mutual is reported as saying:

"As to published reports of dissension between members of the Mutual's investigating committee, I have no knowledge whatever except that derived from reading newspapers. I am not a member of the Truesdale committee, but I have never been informed of any serious disagreement between its members."

And again, in answer to the question: "Is it true, as reported in banking circles, that the investigating committee, under pressure, was persuaded to withdraw requisitions made by it for information bearing upon the actions of members of the company's finance committee?" Mr. Peabody is reported as replying in these words:

"That is not true. I do not know whence such reports emanate, but I do know that every request for information made by the Truesdale committee has been promptly complied with. Certainly neither members of the Board nor I have the slightest disposition to limit the scope of the committee's inquiries in any way, but, on the contrary, it is our desire to cooperate with it fully.

"If the members of the committee to-day will make any request for information bearing upon members of the finance committee, or any other individuals, or having to do with any department of the Mutual or any phase whatever of its business, I will see to it that the organization's

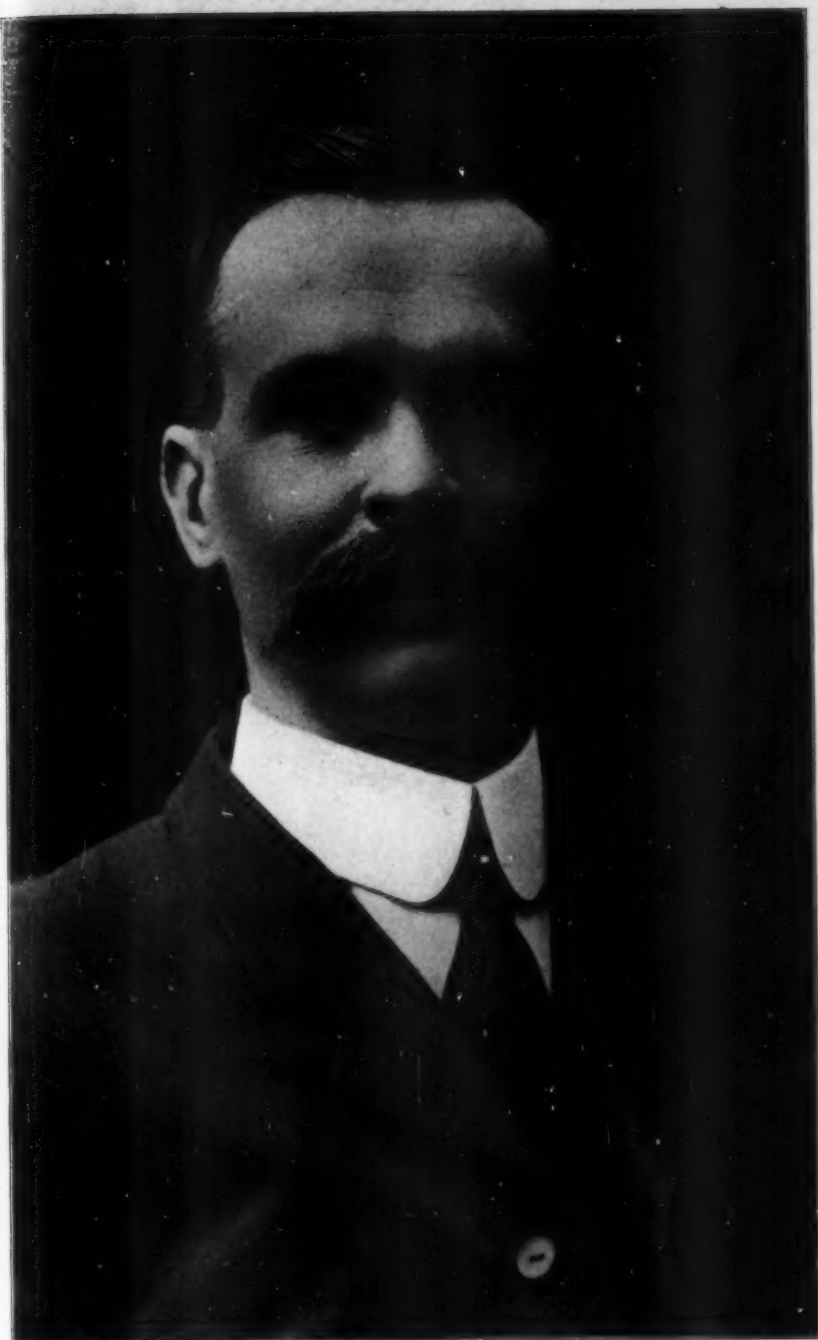


Photo. by Purdy, Boston

ALBERT BRANDT

THE ARENA



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resources are exhausted, if necessary, to comply promptly with any such request."

[The New York *Herald*, it should be observed, has generally been favorable to Mr. Peabody and the Standard Oil faction in the Mutual controversy. Indeed, its articles on the insurance issues, written by its Wall-street bureau are commonly reported to be shaped in Mr. Harriman's office before being published. There is, therefore, no reason to question the accuracy of this journal's report of Mr. Peabody's words. Yet it is difficult to conceive as possible such ignorance of friction existing in the committee, which everyone but the president of the Mutual seems to have been perfectly cognizant of and which had long been the subject of newspaper reports and editorial comment no less than of general discussions in Wall street and among the banking interests; and quite as difficult is it to reconcile the statement that every request made by the Truesdale committee had been promptly complied with, in view of President Peabody's letter dated February 13th and referring to the requisition made December 26th on the acting president of the company. The letter read in part as follows:

"Referring to the letter of December 26, 1905, from the Special Committee of which you are Chairman, addressed to Frederic Cromwell, and handed to me, as his successor in office, by him for attention, and following the lines suggested in the several interviews with you and the other members of your Committee on this subject, I beg to submit the following views:

"First, the members of the Board of Trustees. As to these I do not feel that I am called upon, or indeed have any right to conduct such an inquiry as you ask me to make.

"Second, the employes of the Company.

As to these, it is of course practicable for me to conduct such an investigation as is contemplated, and if it becomes necessary I shall not hesitate to do so. I submit, however, to your consideration the suggestion that it can result in no good purpose as to a very large percentage of the whole number, and to throw such a disturbing influence into such a large force, which is already to a certain extent disorganized, when all that you are seeking can be readily obtained without such an unfortunate consequence as I should anticipate, ought not to be done if any other way of accomplishing the desired purpose can be found."

If every request of the committee had been promptly complied with, as Mr. Peabody sought to have the public believe, how did he come to write on February 13th, or three days later than the publication of his positive statement in the *Herald*, a letter relating to the requisition made December 26th and arguing against the wisdom of complying with the mandatory communication which the committee had felt necessary if an honest and thorough investigation was to be made? And why did he so positively intimate that he would decline to comply with that part of the communication relating to interrogating the trustees?

Whether or not, as intimated by the *Herald*, any pressure had been brought to bear upon the committee to compel the members to change front, the action of Messrs. Truesdale and Auchincloss at the meeting held February 15th, at which the letter of President Peabody was read, was precisely what it would have been if such pressure had been brought to bear upon the President of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad and his fellow committeeman; while the subsequent action of the Standard Oil forces in their war against Mr. Fish, who refused to violate his sacred pledge to the public and the policy-holders and do as Mr. Rogers and his associates desired,

leaves little room for doubt but what, had Mr. Truesdale failed to comply with the wishes of the element that shrank from an honest investigation, he would have been relieved of his imposing position in the business world as head of an important railroad.

At this meeting, after discussing the Peabody letter, Mr. Fish offered a resolution which was voted down by Messrs. Truesdale and Auchincloss and which provided for the requisition to be sent to each member of the board of trustees together with Mr. Peabody's letter, and requesting the individual trustee named in the letter to answer the questions set forth in the communication of December 26th. Later in the same meeting Mr. Fish offered the following resolution:

"Whereas, upon the 26th day of December, 1905, this Committee made a requisition upon the then President *pro tem.* of the Company, Mr. Cromwell, calling for certain information deemed necessary by this Committee in its investigation, and

"Whereas, thereafter the Chairman of this Committee, without the authority of this Committee, informed the present President, Mr. Peabody, that he need not comply with such requisition for the time being:

"Resolved, that the President of the Company be requested to comply with said requisition forthwith."

This was also voted down by Messrs. Truesdale and Auchincloss.

With the defeat of Mr. Fish in the committee it became clear that no comprehensive, honest and thorough investigation, such as had been promised when Mr. Fish accepted the position on the committee, was longer desired or to be permitted. The Standard Oil influence had triumphed. The lid was to be put on and kept on. There was therefore nothing left for Stuyvesant Fish but to resign and let the world know the facts. This he did.

VII. THE AFTERMATH.

The action of the majority of the committee in yielding to the opposition, after going so bravely forward for a time, has puzzled some people. If, however, we bear in mind the multitudinous influences exerted by the master-minds among Wall street high financiers, to which I have before referred—the power of friendship and association, the dependence of the smaller men on their more powerful associates, the power and the disposition of the great corporations and their chiefs to crush those who refuse to be otherwise subdued—we may find the clue to the change of front after Mr. Rogers and his associates secured the election of Mr. Peabody to the presidency of the company.

In the action against Mr. Fish we have another concrete illustration of the methods of the Standard Oil Company and other ill-famed corporations of like character. No sooner had it become apparent that Mr. Fish was going to fight to the finish for honesty and the prosecution of the criminal rich, no sooner was it settled that he could not be bullied, bought or otherwise silenced, than the ukase went forth that he must be driven from his position of honor and power in the financial world. For years he had served as President of the Illinois Central Railroad and had built up a powerful railway system. It was his realm, so to speak. He had refused to become a Wall-street gambler. He had shrunk from the methods of the railway wreckers and gamblers of the Street. Now it was determined to punish him by driving him from the presidency of the Illinois Central. Hariman, the chief railway man of the Standard Oil group, was selected to carry forward the campaign, and the war was on. How it will end we do not know; but while there can be no doubt but what the vast resources of the Standard Oil will be brought to bear against the man who would not betray his trust and sell his manhood; while it is certain that covert

as well as overt action will mark every step in the conflict, and that every weapon known to unscrupulous and corrupt wealth will doubtless be called into requisition, Mr. Fish will have with him the moral sentiment of the nation, and it is a favorable sign of a changing order in public sentiment that the vast majority of the great and influential daily, weekly and monthly journals of the country are outspoken champions of the intrepid friend of common honesty in this great battle against criminal wealth.

The issue involved is far greater than is at first apparent. It is in fact merely one battle in a nation-wide war between the forces of honesty and dishonesty; between the people and the aggressions of the criminal rich; between the Republic and the despotism of a conscienceless, lawless, rapacious and insolent oligarchy that must be overthrown if the Republic is to be preserved.

ALBERT BRANDT.

Trenton, N. J.

THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE IN COLORADO.*

II. DOMINANT TRUSTS AND CORPORATIONS—(Continued.)

BY HON. J. WARNER MILLS.

The Pageant of the Throne-Powers—The Railroads.

PATIENTLY have we witnessed the procession of the throne-powers, and the pageant is now nearly by. We have seen the brisk step and the bold stride of the Denver Utility corporations and of the Coal-Trust and of the Smelter-Trust, and we must now remain a few moments longer until we get a glimpse of the step and stride of the arrogant Railroads.

Who shall say the last word about the railroads? Certainly not a soul now living. Probably long before the last word shall be spoken, new or improved inventions will shape the word. It is more than probable that electricity may supplant steam, and it is among the possibilities that compressed air, or some other form of power, may supplant both. Through some power cheap and effective every farmer may yet make an "auto" of his wagon, and loaded with his pro-

duce operate his own train to distant markets. If aerial navigation is ever made cheap and easy and reasonably safe, then the last word upon railroad monopoly will be quickly and effectively spoken, even though the transportation magnates,—like the magnates of the telegraph with wireless telegraphy,—buy up the patents and prepare to exploit the high-arched vault of the heavens as avariciously as they have exploited the rotund earth. But we must not linger longer on the future, for the present holds us in chains. We do not so much need the last word as we need some word—any true word, even though old and oft-repeated—that will help us comprehend the present magnitude of the railroad question and to realize its far-reaching, vital connection with the social, moral and economic life of the people.

STARTLING FACTS.

There seems to be no phase of the railroad question that is not appalling from the magnitude of its figures. Edward

*The first of this series of articles appeared in the July, 1906, number of *THE ARENA*.

A. Moseley, the secretary of the Interstate Commerce Commission, during January of the present year gave to the public the following facts:

That about 100 persons control 90 per cent. of the railroads of the United States.

That in seven years the freight traffic has doubled, and the passenger business has increased 75 per cent.

That so infinitesimal an increase as one mill per ton per mile on the traffic of last year would amount to \$174,522,089.

That in 1904 the tons of freight carried on all the railroads of the United States were 1,300,000,000 and the passengers carried numbered 715,419,000.

That the total number of freight-cars was 1,760,000 and of passenger-cars 40,000 and of locomotive engines 40,000.

That the total railway stocks were \$6,339,899,000, and the total funded debt was \$6,873,225,000, making the total stocks and bonds \$13,213,124,000 or about one-seventh of the total wealth of the United States, given in the last census as \$94,000,000,000.

That the total earnings of all railroads per day was \$5,500,000.

That the total trackage was 215,000 miles, not counting second tracks or sidings, or 300,000 miles when such second tracks and sidings are counted, and that 65 per cent. of all the railways are embraced in seven systems.

He might also have told us that in the above-mentioned stocks and bonds there was not less than \$6,000,000,000 of "water," and that freight and passengers are annually robbed of millions upon millions of dollars to pay annual interest tribute to the idle holders of this fictitious and non-existent wealth.

LAND-GRABBING RAILROADS.

It early became the policy of the general government, under the pressure of financial plunderers and conniving officials, to turn the great railroads of the west into land-grabbers and land-speculators and land-auctioneers.

In addition to land grants and subsidies the government in certain instances, as in the case of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads, stood good for the bonds of the road. The natural outcome of such a policy has been to introduce the railroad influence into the economic life of the people of the West in a way and to an extent wholly unknown and unrealized by the remainder of the country. Mr. Justice Brewer, of the Supreme Court of the United States, says:

"The grant to the Northern Pacific Railroad Company is enormous—no one disputes that."*

Speaking of the same grant Mr. Justice Field, late of the same bench, says:

"It is 2,000 miles long and 40 miles wide, making an area of 80,000 square miles, a territory nearly equal in extent to that of Ohio and New York combined."†

Prior to September 29, 1890, when the act was passed repealing all unearned railroad land-grants, there had been granted to the railroads 155,504,994.59 acres.‡ With such a profligate hand were the people's lands turned over to the corporations! And now the people must deal with the corporations to get them back. Up to June 30, 1892, the railroads had earned and received patents for 56,483,804.37 acres.‡

When the "Bucklin Amendment" campaign, referred to in a previous article of this series, was in progress, W. A. Richards, acting commissioner of the General Land Office at Washington, under date of September 15, 1902, wrote to Rev. S. W. Sample, then of Denver, as follows:§

"In reply to your letter of the 4th inst.,

*Barden v. Northern Pacific R. R. Co., 14 Sup. Ct. Rep., 1,040.

†Id. 1,034. The land-grant statutes are cataloged at p. 1,034.

‡Encyc. Social Reform, title "Public Domain," p. 1,147. It is here shown that these grants were not necessary to induce the building of the roads.

§The original letter here referred to is in my possession.

I have to advise you that the most reliable data on file in this office shows the area of lands in Colorado, granted to aid in the construction of railroads, to be as follows:

Denver Pacific (clear limits),...	965,920.80 acres.
Denver Pacific (conflicting with U. P.),.....	163,379.37 acres.
Kansas Pacific,.....	2,328,054.16 acres.
Union Pacific (clear limits),...	504,167.11 acres.
Total,.....	3,961,521.44 acres.

As above stated these enormous land-grants, in Colorado and elsewhere, have turned the railroads into landlords and they have not only been royal proprietors throughout the domain of their particular roads, but they have also been political masters throughout the state. Their power, naturally great, has been augmented by their lordships, and it has dominated political conventions and has insinuated itself into legislative halls and courts. An impartial study of legislation, judicial decisions and administrative functions in the several railroad land-grant states would of itself be peculiarly instructive and no doubt startling. While it is now too late to wonder how in a republic like ours these vast landed estates could have been deliberately handed over to the railroads, still it is not too late for the historian to give us the true story of these landlord corporations, and of their land-grabbing descent like Huns and Vandals upon the public domain and of the extent of their guilt in debauching officials and in oppressing the people. For the present, however, it satisfies our purpose to point out that thousands of people in Colorado, and especially in the northern part of the state surrounding the capital, have constantly been mixed up in landed relations with these corporation proprietors, and have always more or less manifested a tenant's fear of offending his landlord. This is an economic fact and should be remembered in considering the ill-formed sentiment and the laws of the state in reference to railroads.

RAILROAD LEGISLATION.

It is not entirely accurate to say, as it is often said, that Colorado is one of the few states in the Union that is without any railroad law whatever. If the remark were to the effect that Colorado is one of the few states that has no railroad commission or tribunal of any kind charged with any specific duty in the way of reporting, supervising or controlling the railroads, then the remark would be perfectly true. What little railroad law there is in this state is of the most general and inconclusive character and much of it is in favor of the railroads, as will be seen by the subjoined note.*

*The constitution provides that all railroads shall be public highways and all railroad companies shall be common carriers and shall have the right to intersect, connect with or cross any other railroad (Art. 15, Sec. 4); that there shall be no consolidation of paralleled or competing lines (*Id.*, Sec. 5); that there shall be no preference to individuals, associations or corporations in furnishing cars or motive power, and no undue or unreasonable discrimination shall be made in charges or in facilities for transportation of freight or passengers, within this state (*Id.*, Sec. 6). As comprehensive as this provision appears to be it has been held by the Supreme Court of the United States that it confers or creates no new right or duty but merely confirms the common law. *Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé R. Co. v. Denver and New Orleans R. Co.*, 110 U. S., 674 (1883). These are substantially all the constitutional provisions as to the conduct, supervision or control of railroads.

The specific statutory provisions in the premises are equally meager and an outline of the same is as follows: Right of railroads to cross each other; cars stop at crossings; fireguards and fires; claim agent to be appointed to settle damages and overcharges; liability for killing stock; conductors, engineers, firemen, brakemen and telegraph operators not to work for more than eighteen consecutive hours without eight hours' rest; bicycles to be carried as baggage; blocking between rails; lighting of switches; no railway bicycle or push-car to be on track without consent; guaranteeing mortgages or interest of connecting lines; protecting title to rolling stock until paid for (2 and 3 Mills Ann. Stat., Chap. 105, "Railroads"). Incorporation of railroad companies; consolidation of domestic and foreign railroads; leasing and reorganizing; foreign, owning lines in Colorado may extend and build branches to same, buy connecting lines of road and hold and own stock in such connecting lines (1 and 3 Mills Ann. Stat., Chap. 30, "Corporations"). These are the only specific provisions on railroads. All others, such as the revenue act, the criminal code, eminent domain, death by wrongful act, etc., are

ROUTING THE RAILROAD COMMISSIONER.

In 1885 there was passed a railroad commission act* providing for one commissioner, with advisory and inquisitorial powers only, and with a term of two years and an annual salary of \$1,800.

The railroad lobby was so unscrupulous and powerful, however, that but one commissioner—and he the first—ever drew any salary or made any elaborate printed report. This pernicious lobby prevented any appropriation being made for the salary or the expenses of the railroad commissioner, and thus effectually defeated the purpose of the act. A few grafting politicians were successively appointed railroad commissioner, but the lobby had no compunction in repudiating the state debt for the commissioner's salary and expenses, although past due and owing, and the office soon fell into such disrepute among office-seekers and grafters that no patriot could be found sufficiently self-sacrificing to fill it.

After this act had been thus rudely handled through several successive administrations, with no governor or legislature brave enough to rescue it from the football tactics of the railroads, the lobby finally secured its repeal in 1893, and exultingly boasted of its strength in passing the repealing act by a two-thirds vote over the veto of the populist governor, Davis H. Waite.†

Eight desultory years, in only two of which was there any life in the commission and in all of which there was a bush-

general, embracing the railroads only incidentally with other persons and subjects. The common law that applies to railroads for injuries and torts is the people's chief reliance. The legislature has never yet passed an act making railroads liable for killing stock, that would pass the muster of the courts. Three successive acts upon this subject have been declared unconstitutional. See 2 and 3 Mills Ann. Stat., Secs. 3,712, 3,713; 1885 act: *Wadsworth vs. Union Pacific R. Co.*, 18 Colo., 600, 33 Pac., 515; 1891 act: *Rio Grande Western R. Co. vs. Vaughn*, 3 Colo. App., 465, 34 Pac., 264; 1893 act: *Denver and Rio Grande R. Co. vs. Thompson*, 12 Colo. App., 1, 54 Pac., 402.

*Laws 1885, p. 307.

†Laws 1893, p. 405; veto message, Sen. Jour., 1893, p. 1,248.

whacking fight between the people and the railroads over the matter of the appropriation for salary expenses, is the extent of Colorado's experience with commissions or legislative supervision or restraint of any kind in regard to the railroads. What a disgraceful commentary on corporation dominion and official treachery!

With the people thus betrayed by their chosen servants, who fell in abject servility before their master, there is more than simile or fiction in treating these dominant corporations as imperious throne-powers. What king upon his throne could do more than make his will the law and nullify statutes that met with his displeasure? True, he might do it easier and more directly, but he could not do it more effectively. But in a republic, the fact of indirection is itself a crime when it lends itself to selfish and powerful interests to override the people and to undo their solemn enactments.

Why prate of anarchy and point to the man with the torch, when in the multitude of examples, such as that now before us, we see railroad and other corporations turn into a veritable "Jack the Ripper" and sandbag and strangle the life out of a beneficent statute? When their own heroic measures fail them in the dark alleys of legislatures and executive chambers, still they do not fail, for it is then that they appeal to the courts.

DARK-ALLEY SLUGGING IN LEGISLATIVE HALLS.

The railroad lobby infests every session of the legislature. Numerous bills to establish anew a state railroad commission have been repeatedly slugged in the dark alleys of our legislative halls. Some of these measures have been meritorious, while others have been cunning "cinch" bills to hold up the railroad. This latter class of bills is generally given by the railroads as the excuse for maintaining a vigilant lobby. This is a mere excuse, however, for the lobby lies in waiting to slug any bill seeking to subject the rail-

roads to state supervision of any kind, especially as to rates within the state, or to prevent discrimination between persons or places or to make railway travel more convenient, comfortable or safe. If moral suasion and argument were alone relied upon and it were not known that money and passes would rain like hail on every measure involving railroad interests, the "cinch" bills would not have a peg to hang upon, and only the bills demanded by the people that could stand upon their own merits would be enacted into law. But the policy of the railroads is to kill *every* railroad bill, by ways fair or foul, that is demanded by the people, regardless of its justice or merit. A policy inherently so vicious necessarily requires an unscrupulous lobby to put it into execution. With the lobby comes the "cinch" bill and the grafters. A fair method of procedure, both to railroads and to the public, is indicated by the following photographic letter:*



SENATE CHAMBER.
BUILT BY THE PEOPLE.

Denver, Colo. Mar. 10, 1903

Messrs. Yeller & Dorey,
Attys. for The Union Pac. R.R.

Dear Sirs:—

I am instructed by a majority of the Senate Committee on Railroads and Corporations to notify you that the Committee will take up for consideration Senate Bill No. 53, A Bill for an Act Creating a Railroad Commission, on Friday evening, March 13th, at 8 o'clock P. M. in Room 15, 2nd Floor of the Capitol Bldg., at which time we would be glad to have you appear before the Committee if you would care to do so.

Very truly yours,

James A. Adams
Chairman.

*This bill was introduced by Senator Ballinger, January 14, 1903, and referred to the Corporation and Railroad committee. March 10th and 16th Senator Ballinger sought to have it taken up and made a special order but was defeated, the first time by a vote of 18 to 8 and the second time by a vote of 15 to 10 (Sen. Jour., 1903, pp. 733, 799). March 17, 1903, the above chairman, J. Frank Adams, reported the bill adversely because of "the large undeveloped districts of Colorado and the demands for railroads to the same, a railroad commission is

Here was given a fair opportunity for conference, discussion and argument, and unless the railroads are prepared to say that the invitation was given in bad faith and was merely the grafters' way of calling for money or passes or both it should have been accepted and utilized and treated as indicating the only proper means of influencing legislation.

In a campaign so conducted no money or passes would be necessary or permissible—unless it would be the insignificant expense of printing arguments and briefs. But the railroads, unaccustomed to a campaign so innocent, had already selected their bills for slaughter in the legislature of 1903, and according to their method in using the lobby, the first subject of consideration was, of course, the important matter of "expense." Under date of February 14, 1903, in a letter to President Burt of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, written by its Denver attorneys, we find both bills and expense discussed as follows:*

"DENVER, Colo., February 14, 1903.

"HORACE G. BURT, Esq.,
President,

"Omaha, Neb.:

"Dear Sir—Referring to the situation in the Colorado Legislature, we beg to hand you herewith the following bills introduced in the Legislature, which we deem to be adverse to the interests of the Union Pacific Railroad Company. These are:

"Senate bill No. 58, by Senator Hill, providing for interest on damages for personal injuries.

uncalled for at this time, as it might militate against railroad construction"! (Sen. Jour., 1903, p. 834.)

Governor Waite, in his veto message referred to above (Sen. Jour., 1893, p. 1,248), shows that there were then 34 railroad commissions in the United States and that none of them had ever injured or retarded railroad interests in any way. Putting the above invitation and report together we are left to infer that the railroads not only accepted the invitation but *overwhelmed* the committee.

"If this bill becomes a law it will greatly increase the amounts recoverable in suits for personal injuries, and we think the same should be defeated, if possible.

"Senate bill No. 166, by Senator Kennedy, is intended to completely remove the doctrine of assumed risk in cases of personal injury or death suffered by an employé. This is important to all large employers of labor, and especially so to railroad companies, and should be defeated if possible.

"House bill No. 181, by Mr. Frewen, provides penalties for failure to comply with existing statutes in respect to safety appliances, etc. This bill is revolutionary in its character, and every effort should be made to defeat it.

"It is possible that some expense may be incurred by the railroad companies in connection with legislative matters. Will you kindly advise us whether Union Pacific Railroad Company is willing to pay its share of any reasonable expense incurred in this connection?

"Yours very truly,

"TELLER & DORSEY,

"EncAD General Attorneys."

From this letter, and the one of February 5th given below as to repealing the provisions of the revenue act requiring all corporations to pay an annual license tax, we see that the matter of "expense" was made the subject of a common fund; that is, that a legislative corporation fund was created to kill the bills referred to and that to such a debauching fund the Union Pacific Railroad Company was asked to contribute "its share."

How effective this procedure was, let the legislative journals tell the tale. Senate bill No. 58 was introduced by Senator Hill, January 15, 1903, and February 27, 1903, it was slaughtered by having its enacting clause stricken out.* Senate

*Sen. Jour., 1903, pp. 142, 629.

bill No. 166 was introduced by Senator Kennedy, February 2, 1903, and referred to the committee on labor, where it was smothered until the last day of the session, when on April 6th, Chairman Ward, of that committee, reported that it be laid upon the table "for want of time to consider it."†

House bill No. 181 was introduced by Mr. Frewen, January 30, 1903, and referred to the committee of the whole February 27, 1903, but presumably because it was so "revolutionary" (?), despite its early reference to the committee, the committee of the whole was not permitted even to discuss or consider it, or at least it did not discuss or consider it, and there was no one to save it from dying the death decreed it by the lobby.‡

We are able to give the reader a photographic copy of President Burt's reply to the above letter of the Denver attorneys. It is as follows:

SUBJECT Legislation in Colorado.



UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY.

Omaha, Feb. 16, 1903.

Dear Sirs:

Yours of the 14th, enclosing copies of Senate Bill No. 58, Senate Bill No. 120, Senate Bill No. 146, Senate Bill No. 195, House Bill No. 48, House Bill No. 127, House Bill No. 181, and House Bill No. 215, received.

All of these bills are more or less objectionable, and should be defeated. Whatever expense needs to be incurred in connection with legislative matters, you are authorized to make.

Yours truly,

W. B. Burt
President.

The railroad letters here inserted are taken from a small pamphlet *Behind the Scenes*, (New York Labor News Company, 2 to 6 Reade street, New York), where the reader will find many other interesting letters showing the raw, commercial basis on which the railroads use passes to secure official action and influence.

Here, as also in the letter below of February 5th, is given the high sanction of the president of the Union Pacific Rail-

†Sen. Jour., 1903, pp. 268, 1,384. The session lasted from January 7, 1903, to April 6, 1903.

‡House Jour., 1903, pp. 284, 637.

road Company to organize a corporation fund not only to kill the bills referred to in the letter above of the Denver attorneys, but also to promote their own bills and to kill other "objectionable" bills. Again, the journals tell us how well they succeeded. Senate bill No. 120, to prevent the destruction of baggage by railroad companies, was introduced by Senator Graves, January 29, 1903, and March 12, 1903, the chairman of the committee on Corporations and Railroads, J. Frank Adams, reported that it be "indefinitely postponed as needless legislation."*

Senate bill No. 195, to require railroads to pay damages for live stock killed by them, was introduced by Senator Drake, February 2, 1903, and referred to the committee on Corporations and Railroads. February 12, 1903, it was reported correctly printed, by the chairman, J. Frank Adams, and that was its end,—it was smothered to death in his committee.†

House bill No. 127, to release persons of assuming risk if injured while the railroads fail to block frogs, was introduced by Mr. Smith, January 28, 1903, and referred to the same committee on Corporations and Railroads and died the same death as the last bill above, after it was reported correctly printed February 11, 1903.‡

House bill No. 215, to repeal certain sections of the revenue law relating to railroads and other corporations, was introduced by Mr. Max Morris, February 2, 1903, and referred to the Finance committee. February 23, 1903, it was referred to the committee of the whole without commendation, and there it hung and strangled.§

But we come now to a bill that did pass both houses. House bill No. 48, to require branch or connecting railroads at the switch where they unite with a main road to keep a light burning from sun-

down to sun-up, was introduced by Mr. Stephen and was passed in both houses *without a single adverse vote.*||

This remarkable result of absolute unanimity in both houses upon a railroad bill receives a flood of light from the following letter written by one of the Denver attorneys of the Union Pacific Railroad Company to his superior in New York City:

[Copy.]

"DENVER, Colo., May 18, 1903.

"HON. W. R. KELLY, General Solicitor, U. P. R. R. Co., 120 Broadway, New York, N. Y.:

"My Dear Judge KELLY— . . I wish to state briefly some of the results which have been accomplished. . . [enumerating about half a dozen cases culminated by judgment for the defendants].

"Many other matters have been disposed of to the advantage of the railroad company, but it is unnecessary to refer to them specifically. *No recovery of any kind has been had against us during the last year.*

"At the last session of the Legislature, although many bills were introduced which would greatly prejudice the railroad company's interests, *no legislation was enacted to our disadvantage.* On the contrary, several acts were *passed* which were *favorable* to railroad companies, some of which had been caused to be introduced by the Union Pacific Railroad Company.

"With kindest regards, believe me,

"Yours very truly,

"CLAYTON C. DORSEY."

Note in this letter and in the letters above to President Burt how the underground wires run from the capital of Colorado to Omaha and New York. With a system so perfect and only seven systems to unite in order to control 65 per cent. of the railroads of the country, do you wonder, reader, as stated by Mr.

*Sen. Jour., 1903, pp. 249, 770.

†Sen. Jour., 1903, pp. 282, 434.

‡House Jour., 1903, pp. 243, 419.

§House Jour., 1903, pp. 274, 376.

||House Jour., 1903, p. 679; Sen. Jour., 1903, p. 1,245; Laws 1903, p. 405; 3 Mills Ann. Stat. (2 Ed.) Secs. 3751f-3751h.

Moseley, that 90 per cent. of the entire railroads of the nation are controlled by a plotting cabal of a hundred men?

In the tremendous power so dangerously concentrated reflect, also, how, without any noise or publicity, these designing destroyers of the Republic can dictate our laws, make our constitutional amendments, influence public policies, corrupt public officers, pervert the functions of legislatures and courts, coerce the selection of the United States senators and congressmen, and of governors and judges and other officials in both state and nation.

How is there any room to doubt that the above House bill No. 48 was one of the acts passed "which were favorable to railroad companies," and "which had been caused to be introduced by the Union Pacific Railroad Company"? What do the people think of their government and of their public officials when they see, as here they must, how the corporation corruption fund is raised, and, as shown below, how rebates and passes are used as opiates and bribes, and how the railroads gloat over their unprecedented successes in legislature and courts? See, too, how "labor representatives" are dickered with by the lobby to line them up with the interests of the corporations, and how, also, the railroads reach out to control legislation to the advantage of their patrons.

Here is a letter that lays bare this peculiar method of their legislative operations:

[Copy.]

"September 23, 1903.

"THE LARIMIE BROOM CO., Larimie, Wyoming:

"Gentlemen—During the last session of the Colorado Legislature a bill was presented and passed taxing convict-made goods* sold in this State, which is in effect a discrimination against these goods, which practically precludes their ship-

*This was House bill No. 206, by Mr. Garman, and is now Chap. 149, Laws 1903, same 3 Mills Ann. Stat. (2 Ed.), Secs. 3450a-3450k.

ment into and sale in Colorado. This bill we sought to defeat in your interests, but, as you know, labor conditions were such that this bill, with some others, was used as a compromise measure with the labor representatives to effect other legislation not entirely in their interest. We deeply regretted our inability to prevent the passage of the bill, but, since it has now become a law, we have investigated its validity and are firmly of the opinion that the bill is wholly unconstitutional, chiefly for the reason that it is a regulation of Interstate Commerce, which subject of legislation is vested solely in the National Congress. There is a way to raise the question in our courts and if you desire to continue to prosecute your business in Colorado after a legal battle, which we believe would be neither lengthy nor very expensive, we should be pleased to take the matter up with you and attempt to secure for you the rights which it was impossible to maintain owing to the circumstances above detailed in respect to the passage of the bill.

"Respectfully,

"TELLER & DORSEY."

What they lose in the legislature they propose to find in the courts even if, as it appears, they are compelled to suggest and solicit the litigation themselves. These letters afford the rare opportunity of seeing the "respectables" of corporation plunder mixing their own brew. What does the reader think of it?

At this point, as much as we regret to bring our railroad discussion to an abrupt end, it seems that space limits require it should be done. Our consideration of discrimination, rebates and passes, and their corrupting social and political effects, and the high-handed overthrow of the revenue laws of the state by the railroads in their pursuit of cheap taxation—all of which make a startling revelation in themselves—must, for the present, be put aside with the mere suggestion that if they can be equaled they

certainly cannot be surpassed in any other part of the country.

ADIEU TO THE PAGEANT OF THE
THRONE-POWERS.

The pageant of the Throne-Powers has now passed by and you have seen each dominant trust and corporation as it took its proud place in the line. You have seen the corrupting Utility-Trust of Denver, the water company, the tramway company, the gas and lighting company, and the telephone company; and you have seen their debauching methods and their tainted franchises and wealth. You have seen the blighting coal-trust with its national head, the defiant land-grabbing Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, and its lesser but equally ambitious companions in shirking taxes and queering elections—The Victor Fuel Company and The Northern Coal and Coke Company. You have seen the vampire Smelter-Trust enveloping in black clouds the mining industry of the entire country, and the mark of Cain put over the portals of our School of Mines by the Guggenheim gold. You have seen the railroads become vast landed proprietors dominating the state, and political masters wiping out laws with a whisk, and enacting and defeating legislation at will. You have thus seen the real powers that not only control, but that practically run riot in Colorado. They are barons of privilege with their distended maws stuffed full of the choicest franchises, lands and opportunities that are to be found in the West. These economic food-stuffs so essential to the industrial blood of the body politic cannot be appropriated and gulped down by a plundering few without seriously disturbing, even unto death, the alimentary life of the victimized many. Upon economic meat so choice and ample "do these our Cæsars feed" that they practically monopolize the whole supply. The anæmic masses must starve, or scramble for the scraps and bones that our Cæsars throw to their dogs. You have seen, too, the

way these Cæsars got this meat, sometimes by open deal, gift or blandishment, but more often by the spoliation of fraudulent devices, stock-jobbing, "watering" bonds and stock-wrecking franchises, receiverships, litigious overreaching in the gamut of the courts, legislative corruption, ballot-box stuffing, tax-dodging, bribery and fraud. But this meat is power, and having all the meat, of course they have all the power. They can make laws for others and break them for themselves. They sit above the law in the *aula regis* they have taught our highest courts to resurrect from the crumbling tomb of the ancient conqueror of England. Even now they, or some of them, wave their wand and tell us that at the municipal election in Denver, May 15, 1906, traction franchises must be renewed for the Tramway Company on every street of the city, good for twenty years, and good in Wall street for twenty-five million dollars of bonds, and without any surrender of the Tramway's insolent claim to a perpetual franchise, nor for any consideration whatever except the pittance of \$55,000 a year; and we see they have both political machines kowtowing to the boss and zealously scheming to carry a favorable vote for this obnoxious franchise. They are also manipulating the registration in hostility to their opponents and are devising other methods to circumvent the adverse voter and if need be to count their franchise in at all hazard, as they have heretofore counted in a municipal charter and a mayor.

If they had any respect for the courts and loved liberty and law, would there have been any of the trifling with judicial warrants and process we are soon to write about at Telluride and Cripple Creek? And would we not have been spared the national disgrace of an official kidnaping of Colorado citizens in the night, to be torn by Pinkertons from friends and home and borne on a special train to a distant state? No all-important act like this could be done without permission of

the Throne-Powers. In the next two articles to follow, the Throne-Powers cannot be hid from view when we see the eight-hour struggle in Colorado and see how the scale was turned to make unequal the struggle between the strugglers. Later we may have a word as to the remedy; but for the present, as heretofore, we can but admonish that these are not the days for slumber, and that the friends of liberty must keep their lamps trimmed and burning and no light must go out. In the Throne-Powers of Colorado they must also see the Throne-Powers of all the states and also of the

nation, and, indeed, of other nations too; and know that the problem that confronts the people now is not local but national,—and international as well. In Colorado the chance to get-rich-quick has appreciably intensified the struggle, and the struggle will continue, intermittently it may be, but still it will continue until the people learn how to destroy monopoly and privilege, and then the Throne-Powers will be quickly driven from their throne.

(To be continued.)

J. WARNER MILLS.

Denver, Colo.

THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY: ITS AIMS AND ASPIRATIONS.

BY WILLIAM DIACK.

IN A remarkable passage in his "Democratic Vistas" Walt. Whitman says: "I expect to see the day when the like of the present personnel of the governments—Federal, State, municipal, military and naval—will be looked upon with derision, and when qualified mechanics and young men will reach Congress and other official stations, sent in their working costumes, fresh from their benches and tools and returning to them again with dignity. The young fellows must prepare to do credit to this destiny, for the stuff is in them."

There is a touch of rare prophetic insight in these words of the good gray bard of Democracy written nearly forty years ago. In New Zealand and Australia, in Germany, France and Italy—indeed, in every European country—in the United States, in the new British colonies in South Africa, a great world-movement is manifesting itself in favor of the independent representation of Labor. Names, parties, leaders and programmes may differ, but the underlying principle is in every

case the same. In Russia old forms of government are in the melting-pot, and what new system will supplant the despotism of centuries few will be bold enough to predict. In Britain the first great battle of Labor is over. Now the hurly-burly's done, the battle fought and won, and the working classes have emerged triumphant. The Labor candidates have been more successful at the polls than even the most optimistic of reformers had dared to hope. Few indeed expected that the new Parliament would contain fifty representatives of the working-classes,—and yet, inclusive of the members returned by the great miners' unions and the Liberal-Labor members of Parliament, even this number has now been exceeded.

Working-class members of Parliament are of course no innovation in British politics. So long ago as 1868 Mr. Cremer and Mr. Howell came forward as independent spokesmen of the working-classes, a large number of whom had been enfranchised by Disraeli's bill of the pre-

vious year. They were unsuccessful, it is true, but they made a grand fight—a fight which even to this day is looked upon with pride by the older school of trades-unionists. In due course, however, both won a place in the British House of Commons as working-class supporters of the Liberal party, and along with them went Mr. Macdonald, Mr. Joseph Arch—the faithful friend of the British farm-laborer—Mr. Burt, Mr. Fenwick, and a stalwart band of representatives of the mining electorate. But in every instance these members were returned as supporters of the official Liberal party. During the last Liberal Government Mr. Keir Hardie was the solitary representative of the independent Labor movement. On his hapless head official Liberalism poured the vials of its wrath. But in spite of bitter, even venomous, opposition the Labor movement grew, and its principles, as they were more clearly understood, began to find favor among the trades-unionists of the country. The Trades Congress, representing the great army of trades-unionists, declared in favor of the new party, and ten years of Tory rule and class-legislation did much to consolidate the progressive forces of the country. How significant has been the advance of the Labor movement during the past fifteen years will be readily gathered from the following tables:

Labor representatives in 1900: Miners, 5; Liberal Labor, 4; Independent Labor, 1.

Labor representatives in 1905 (previous to dissolution): Miners, 5; Labor Representation Committee, 5; Liberal Labor, 4.

Labor representatives in 1906: Labor Representation Committee (including 2 miners), 29; Other Miners, 14; Liberal Labor, 16.

To these may be added one Irish Unionist and five Irish Nationalists.

But from the progressive standpoint the chief feature of the election has been the success of the candidates of the Labor Representation Committee—the L. R.

C., as it is familiarly termed; and a brief statement of the programme, composition and policy of this organization may be of interest to American readers. It is no body of mushroom growth, but one that has been built up slowly, year by year with much shrewd foresight, so as to include in its ranks the best elements in the trades-union and progressive working-class movements. It is a federation composed of trades unions, trades councils, Socialist societies, and coöperative societies willing to join and considered eligible for membership. Its object is: "To secure by united action the election to Parliament of candidates promoted in the first instance by an affiliated society or societies in the constituencies who undertake to form or join a distinct group in Parliament, with its own whips and its own policy on Labor questions, to abstain strictly from identifying themselves with, or promoting the interests of, any section of the Liberal or Conservative parties, and not to oppose any other candidates recognized by this committee. All such candidates shall pledge themselves to accept this constitution, to abide by the decision of the group, and to appear before their constituencies under the title of Labor candidates only."

The affairs of the Labor Representation Committee are transacted by an executive committee of thirteen members (and the number has not proved unlucky so far as the recent elections have been concerned). Of these, nine represent the Trades Unions, three the Socialist societies, and one the Trades Councils. The committee has a membership of 1,000,000 and it is the proud boast of its leaders that the working classes of Britain are now in a position to maintain 200 of their number in Parliament. A party fund has been established in order to assist in defraying the election expenses of the candidates and in contributing to the support of those who may be successful at the polls. According to the present arrangements the L. R. C. pays 25 per cent. of the returning officers' expenses

of approved candidates and £200 per annum towards maintenance of such candidates who are elected to Parliament. At present a levy of one penny per annum is paid by all the affiliated trades unions, but even this trifling sum represents an annual income of considerably over £4,000 a year.

The Labor Representation Committee was originally a sort of offshoot from the Trades Congress, and was founded in 1899. Its present chairman is Mr. Arthur Henderson, who has been returned as Labor M. P. for one of the divisions of Durham. Mr. J. R. Macdonald was appointed its first secretary, and he has been at the helm of affairs ever since. It is to Mr. Macdonald more than to any other single individual that the new party owes so much of its success at the elections. This Scharnhorst of the Labor party, as he has been called, is a native of Lossiemouth, a little fishing village on the coast of Morayshire, and is sprung from the sturdy race of peasants who have done so much to make Scotland great at home and revered abroad—to alter slightly the well-known words of Burns.

The political programme of the new party is in many respects frankly socialistic. Of the 29 L. R. C. members, 21 are Socialists, 7 of these being active workers in the Independent Labor Party. So also is one of the best known of the new Miners' members of Parliament, while—apart from Mr. John Burns—at least half a dozen well-known Socialist workers are included in the Liberal Labor group. In most of the election addresses of the Labor members the nationalization of the land, railways, canals and mines figured prominently; while several were bold enough to add the whole "means of production, distribution and exchange." The gravity of the unemployed problem was fully recognized. The "right to work"—although the phrase and the principle which it embodied were jeered at by official Liberalism—was a battle-cry which found a responsive echo in the hearts of hundreds of thousands of British

workmen. The duty of the State to provide work for those who are willing to work and cannot find it was boldly insisted on, this new conception of the meaning of citizenship being strenuously advocated even by those of the old school of trades-unionists who repudiated all sympathy with the Socialism of Mr. Keir Hardie and the Independent Labor Party. Farm colonies, afforestation, reclamation of foreshores and waste-lands, a reduction of the hours of labor (in most of the addresses an eight-hour day was proposed), reform of the land laws and the granting of wider powers to municipalities were among the numerous solutions put forward for the great problem of non-employment.

The working-class candidates—whether Labor or Liberal Labor—were Free Traders to a man. "Thou shalt not tax the people's food" has been the verdict of the working-classes on Mr. Chamberlain's Protectionist nostrums. With regard to Chinese labor in South Africa, too, they spoke with undivided voice. "Remove the stain"—Mr. J. R. Macdonald's expressive phrase—sums up the attitude, not of the Labor members only, but of the whole British democracy on this important question.

But the first place in the Labor programme is naturally occupied by the Amendment of the Workmen's Compensation Act and the law relating to trades unions. By the Taff-Vale and other well-known judicial decisions the accumulated funds of the British trades unions have been practically placed at the mercy of unscrupulous organizations of employ-és, and tens of thousands of pounds have already been swallowed up in fruitless litigation. A bill to amend this state of matters—the Trades Disputes Bill—passed its second reading by a large majority last session of Parliament, but was killed in Committee by an organized capitalist opposition. To the passing of this bill the new Labor party will first devote its energies in the new Parliament, and the Liberal Government has pledged itself

to make at least considerable concessions in this direction.

Mr. J. Keir Hardie, although perhaps more advanced than some of his colleagues, is still perhaps entitled to speak with more authority on the objects of the Labor party than any other single member who could be selected. He has had considerable Parliamentary experience. His zeal, energy and ability are undoubted. Even his political opponents cordially recognize his manly and upright character and his sincerity of purpose. The worst they have to say of him is that he is something of a visionary and an idealist. But even in politics that is a failing which leans to virtue's side. It is an evil omen for a nation when its young men dream no dreams and its old men cease to see visions. Mr. Hardie's address to the electors of Merthyr Tydvil (from which constituency he has been elected in spite of much strenuous opposition, by a magnificent vote of over 10,000) may therefore be taken as fairly representative of the aims and aspirations of the Labor party as a whole, and on that account we quote from it some characteristic paragraphs:

"As a democrat, I am opposed to every form of hereditary rule, and in favor of conferring full and unfettered powers upon the common people. In this connection I include women as well as men.

"As religious belief is a personal concern, I am opposed to its enforcement or endowment by the State—either in church or school. Every school which is being supported by public money should be under public control, and the teachers, as civil servants, should be freed from the responsibility of giving religious instruction. Education being a national concern, the cost should be borne by the National Exchequer.

"As a convinced Free-Trader, I am opposed to any flirting with Protection, whether disguised as Preferential tariffs

or a zollverein, or retaliation, or any of the many aliases under which it is proposed to foist Protection upon the nation. I would abolish the Customs House altogether, and do away with all forms of indirect Taxation, save the excise duties upon spirits; repeal the coal tax, denounce the Sugar Convention, and make good the loss to the Revenue by a special graduated tax on unearned incomes.

"It is as a Socialist, a Trades-Unionist, and a social reformer that I base my chief claim to your support. The working-class, professional men, and shopkeepers are all struggling—some few to make a competence, but the great majority to earn a livelihood. Millions are steeped in poverty, whilst millions more are but one degree removed from it. While the useful classes toil and suffer, the owners of land and capital, and the schemers and gamblers of the Stock Exchange, are heaping up untold wealth. Whilst the poor die for lack of the barest necessities of life, the rich revel in a riot of excess. Great accumulations of wealth menace our liberties, control the great London organs of the press, lead us into wars abroad, and poison the wells of public life at home. Landlordism and capitalism are the upper and nether millstones between which the life of the common people is being ground to dust.

"It was a contemplation of these things which led me to become a Socialist, and to take an active part in building up a Labor party separate and distinct from all other parties; and it is for the electors of Merthyr to say by their votes how far they are in agreement with me. My one object in politics is to aid in creating the public opinion which will sweep away the causes which produce poverty, vice, crime, drunkenness and immorality, and introduce an era of freedom, fraternity and equality. This ideal state cannot be reached at one step, but much can be done to mitigate some of the graver evils arising out of our present system of wealth pro-

duction. The immediate object of the Labor Party is to create a driving force in politics which will overcome the inertia of politicians in regard to social reforms, and give the nation a strong, true lead along the paths which make for national righteousness. To see that children are properly fed and cared for, that the able are given an opportunity to work, and that comfort is brought into the life of the aged, are objects worth striving for. These things lie outside the domain of ordinary party politics, but they must be attended to if the nation is to be saved from decay; and should I again be returned as your representative, it will be my main concern to see that they are attended to."

Such, then, are the men and such the

principles of the new party which has come into prominence at the general election in Britain. Carpenters, masons, compositors, shipwrights, farm-laborers, miners, engineers, gasworkers, railway-servants, ex-civil-servants, shoemakers, navvies and weavers,—these are the men whom the Labor party has chosen to testify in Parliament to the principles of the new Democracy. The working-class electors have approved of this choice, and the future of the Labor party in Britain depends very largely now on the record and achievements of its members in Parliament during the next five years. "The young fellows must prepare to do credit to this destiny, for the stuff is in them."

WILLIAM DIACK.

Aberdeen, Scotland.

CHARLES H. GRANT: MARINE PAINTER.

BY GEORGE WHARTON JAMES,

Author of *In and Around the Grand Canyon, Indian Basketry; and How to Make Indian and Other Baskets, Indians of the Painted Desert Region*, etc.

IT SEEMS almost trite to say there is a great difference between a marine painter and a landscape painter. Yet there is a far greater difference than even many so-called skilled artists suppose. It is an undisputed fact, however, that where there is one good marine painter there are a score or a half-hundred good landscape painters. In painting a landscape, while the artist sees a vast amount of changing quality in the clouds, shadows cast, sunlight, waving of the trees, movement of water, the effects of the wind on the grasses, fields of grain, etc., there is equally a vast amount of stable quality in the immovableness of the trees, the rocks, the hills, the course of the streams, etc. But in a seascape, the artist finds nothing stable, nothing at rest. From zenith to nadir, and at every point on the horizon, everything is in motion. Nor is this all; not only is everything in motion,

but when one is studying a vessel, the vessel itself is in motion with everything below, around and above it in different motion. The sea has its own motion in relation to the vessel, the clouds and sky have theirs, and the hull, masts and sails change their position against the changing background of sky, clouds, and, if near a shore, shore-line, land and horizon every moment, thus affording a complex problem of movement that only a most careful observer and student, a rapid "transfixer" of the scene and a man gifted with an extraordinary memory can possibly reproduce. But, even this is not all the difficulty. Many sea scenes cannot be gained from the stable shore. The painter must go on a boat and be tossed to and fro on the unstable sea himself, thus complicating the problem of movements, and rendering more difficult the observation and carrying away of

the impressions that it is desirable to reproduce. Then, too, it is essential that a sea painter have a knowledge of his subject above that of the ordinary landscape painter of his subjects. He must know all about the craft he pictures; something about currents, and their effects upon moving vessels; the wind and its effect upon sails; and the technical handling and setting of sails; he must know water in all its moods from the placid, pearly-faced calm to the demoniac-voiced ten-thousand-times giant-sized stormy wave, that dashes over a large ship and drives it to death on the hungry rocks beyond. The fact is, a marine painter cannot paint on the spot. He must study and know, until everything he would present is a part of his very self, has become so completely his own, that with paints and brush in hand, and canvas before him, he can create his picture from his own inner consciousness. This it is to be a creative artist, as distinguished from a mere reproducer of nature, a copyist or a technician.

With such problems as these to contend with, in addition to the difficulties of learning his art, it is not to be wondered at that few men care to serve the long and tedious apprenticeship that is absolutely essential ere any man can be classed as a true painter of the sea. Here is a case where love, delight, pleasure, must become the soul of art. Without such love, no man, or few, would ever undergo the long training and disciplining necessary



Charles H. Grant, Pinx.

"HOMEWARD BOUND."

and the disappointments that come from failure.

Hence, when one discerns on the horizon the dawn of a new and true marine painter, he feels that he is doing his readers a service in calling their attention to the fact, with the reason for the "faith that is within him," and in the hope also that such notice will encourage the worker to continue until all readily acknowledge his high rank.

Such a painter we believe Charles Henry Grant, born in 1866, at Oswego, N. Y., to be. Spending the first years of his life alongside a lake it was natural that he should early develop a passion for the water. Indeed, from before he could remember it was his joy and delight. As a swimmer he loved the water, and when he grew older and could not have a boat he went out upon it on a raft.

Whether in calm or storm, it was all the same to him. He loved it, and he soon knew its every mood and expression. At the same time the lad had a natural love for drawing and the use of colors, and made many little pictures that pleased his playmates and friends.

But one day, when still a schoolboy in knickerbockers, he learned that a lady had just received a large painting of a shipwreck off Oswego harbor, in Lake Ontario, painted by the Boston artist, Elwell. With desire in his heart and trembling in his knees he went to the home of this lady, determined to ask for permission to look at it. That picture was Fate, leading him on. When he reached the door and knocked, his agitation was so great as almost to suffocate him, and had he had the strength he would certainly have run away. With stammering tongue he told the lady of his desire, and of course, in a moment his pleading eyes had gained the request his lips could scarce request and he stood before the picture. It was six or seven feet long, and, to the untutored eyes of the lad, a masterpiece. His interest so awakened the interest of the owner that she drew him out in conversation and bye and bye, when he shyly said he would give a great deal to be able to copy it, her condescension in telling him to come and do so, almost took away his breath. But there was enough young America in him to hold him to his desire, and purchasing canvas, brushes and paint, he set to work, and on a reduced scale, painted the picture. The writer would give much to see that boyish attempt, but Mr. Grant refuses to say what disposal has been made of it.

There, however, was his inspiration, and though but fourteen or fifteen years of age at the time, he has been painting marine pictures, and scarcely anything else, ever since.

Before leaving the subject of this picture of Elwell's, it may be interesting to relate that two years ago Mr. Grant was invited to the home of Mr. James Eggle-

ston, president of one of the great trans-continental express companies, who was interested in long-horned cattle, some pictures of which he wished Mr. Grant to see. As the artist entered the drawing-room, imagine his wonder, surprise and delight to see on the walls this picture that had been his youthful inspiration. It transpired that the lady who owned it was Mr. Eggleston's sister, and, upon making a European trip, she had left it in her brother's care. When Mr. Grant was asked what effect it had upon him, now that he himself was a trained and skilled artist, he said "that while of course it was not the wonderful picture that it had appeared to him to be when a boy, he still felt its strength and power." This clearly shows two things, namely, that, even in his raw days he had the artistic perception, and that the picture was great enough to have given him a true artistic impulse.

After a season at the National Academy of Design, New York, he became one of the five American pupils the great marine painter, M. F. H. DeHaas, allowed himself to have. This master-artist had been honored as the court painter to the Queen of Holland, had been given the decoration of the Legion of Honor, was a Chevalier of the Order of Leopold of Belgium, and was a man capable of inspiring his pupils with his own high ideals. Young Grant was filled with the desire to accomplish. The water of the lake had appealed to him, and now he learned the greater power of the vast ocean. The waves became to him the symbols of eternal unrest; he saw in their wild and rough tossing, whether dashing upon a rocky shore, over a pier, submerging a struggling vessel, or in a storm in mid-ocean, the acme of beauty and grace. Here were united hundreds, nay thousands, of curves of all sizes and shapes, moving, scintillating in the sunlight; giving forth the iridescence of a thousand rainbows; imprisoning in their moving forms, moment after moment, the fire and sparkle of the diamond,

the glow and color of the sunrise, and the flaming glory of the sunset. When the water flowed in long steady, rolls, there was the emblem of gently exercised but irresistible power. A vessel, no matter how great its size or heavy its burden, was moved as it moved, with the same ease that the wind blows along a winged seed of the dandelion. But it was the fierce motion of the sea that appealed to him; smooth water had but few attractions, and he has painted few and will doubtless paint fewer smooth-water pictures. The turbulence of the sea found a responsive note in his own soul.

Nor was this all, in the ships themselves, as he grew in knowledge of them, there was a growing attraction. With their bird-like motion, their outspread sails sensitive to every movement of cloud or wind, and reflecting every mood of sky and sun; the ease and grace with which they ploughed their way through dashing waves, this also found a responsive sense within him. Then, too, when out on the ocean in a sailing vessel, he felt himself in close touch with the real things of life. He was away from the shams and frivolities of cities; the conventions that hamper, and restrain, and dwarf, and repress! Here all was bold, open, frank, free and real. Nature was exposed in the fearlessness of innocence and power.

Needless to add Mr. Grant has been to sea a number of times in every craft imaginable. His adventures properly told by a Kipling would equal those of Captains Courageous. Boat, scow, brig, yacht, schooner, steamer, tramp, pilot-boat, on all has he traversed the briny deep. Perhaps what he regards as his



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"AHEAD, FULL SPEED!"

most notable trip was taken in 1887 on a North American pilot-boat. Going out to Sandy Hook, he was "on the station" waiting three days. "On the station" is a phrase used by pilots, and means that pilot-boats, as they arrive at the station, are required in their order numerically to cruise back and forth outside the light-ship for the purpose of taking off outgoing pilots, hence the phrase "on the station."

Pilot-boat number twenty-one, upon which Mr. Grant was, soon took number twenty's place and cruised back and forth for three days. Then her turn came and she set off to take her chances, for that is really what it is. A small boat, a mere speck on the boundless ocean, especially in stormy or cloudy weather, absolutely

takes frightful chances of never being seen again. It is not like the fishing vessels that have their own "zone" where steamers seldom intrude, but the very nature of the work of the pilot-boats requires that they stay in the path of the monster steamers that would plough down so small a boat and never know of its existence. The pilot-boats were, at that time, small, staunch, deep-draft schooners, carrying amidships on deck two small yawls, which are launched for the purpose of transferring pilots to boats that may need their services. When signals can be seen in the daytime the signaling is done by means of flags, and the steamer knows that here is the pilot-boat, while the pilot-boat on showing her signal is immediately informed by a replying signal on the steamer whether the pilot is required or not. At night the pilot-boat displays a flare at the stern and the steamer has corresponding replies, but it is in a fog that the greatest caution and vigilance must be exercised. On the pilot-boats they have a fog-horn that operates by turning a crank just like a barrel-organ, and if any one grows nervous, he goes and grinds out the signal.

Mr. Grant avows that when, what turned out to be, a four days' fog settled down on them, though he was well used to the seas, he grew nervous. "Yes," said he, when relating the experience, "I felt more nervous and afraid than I cared to show, though I guess the old salts knew all about it. I had often laughed at the weary monotony the barrel-organ grinders must feel when grinding out the same old tune, but I discovered a new feeling that was powerful enough to overcome the monotony of the steady bray or blare of the fog-horn. The pilot had some fun with me, for, turning to the captain he said: 'Mr. Grant must be fond of music.' I heard him, of course, and replied: 'Mr. Yonkers, if it takes muscle to keep this boat out of danger, I am in a way of developing it very speedily.' The fact is the first night I did n't quit grinding until I was utterly worn out. Ah, those old

frauds, what fun they were having out of me. When I went below I did n't feel like getting undressed and into a bunk. Great heavens! what condition would I be in if we were to be run down and I in a bunk. No, sir! no bunk for me. I stretched out with a blanket on a locker, directly at the foot of the companion-way, so that if anything happened I would be up on deck in a moment. I just settled down nicely one night and my weariness was sending me to sleep, when a roar as of loudest thunder entered my ears and a shock as if we had been 'struck' made me wide awake. I was up on deck in two jumps. 'What is the matter?' I cried. Then they had the laugh on me. A pilot-signal on a foggy night is to fire off the six-pounder every half minute. The return signal from the steamer is two toots of the whistle given at intervals. It was the firing of the six-pounder that had made the welkin ring and scared me so nearly out of my wits.

"It is no easy matter to send a pilot aboard a vessel, especially at night or in a fog. For some time an incoming steamer's hoarse whistle has been heard at intervals of half a minute growing gradually nearer. Then the gun on the pilot-boat booms forth over the wild waste of waters every thirty seconds, until out of the gloom and blackness comes the responding answering blast of the steamer's whistle. But in the dark who can tell the location of either steamer or pilot-boat? That is a matter that requires considerable training. There are no instruments to determine it. It can be done only by the ear—the most delicate instrument known in the world. Several times the pilot has asked me: 'Where away is the steamer?' and I have answered in one direction only to have him assure me that it was in an entirely opposite one. Hence it is a matter that training only can determine. While the locating of the vessel needing the pilot and the signaling is going on, the pilot is in his cabin putting on his 'best bib and tucker.' Coming on deck the pilot stands amid-



Charles H. Grant, Pinx.

"WILL THE ANCHOR HOLD?"

ships by one of the yawls, which is lifted by the men on to the rail of the schooner, right side up, ready to be thrown over into the water at the command. The oars are lashed in place, the painter made fast by the man on deck. At his side stand the two men who are to accompany him. At a favorable moment the pilot gives the signal to the helmsman of the pilot-boat to let her come 'into the wind.' She slews around, the taut sails slacken and shake. The next moment the second command is given: 'Throw her over!' In she goes. Her oarsmen are ready, the pilot leaps to the rail, and when she rises on the next wave alongside the pilot-boat, the three of them jump, the pilot in the stern, the two men at their oars. As soon as they are ready, the final command rings out: 'Let go!' The painter is dropped and two or three vigorous strokes puts a good distance between the two boats. To any but an

experienced and sturdy seaman the pilot-boat is a tiny cockleshell, upon that wild desert of tossing waves, but the yawl itself seems a mere fairy craft. Yet it is pulled steadily to the side of the great vessel, which has slowed up for it. 'Can you see it all the time?' By no means. As the mountains of water rise and fall the little boat is entirely swallowed out of sight, then, as you are lifted, you see it down, down, way down in the trough beneath you. The next minute and you are below and the tiny craft is a hundred feet above you. Yet steadily her oarsmen row in the proper direction. The pilot-boat, in the meantime, 'comes about' and beats back and forth, awaiting to pick up the small boat. It is not long before the pilot reaches the steamer and the ladder is lowered. With his trained and watchful eye he stands and gives his commands, and, at the opportune moment, makes his spring, seizes

the rope and the next moment is on his way safely to the deck, where he is to be the unquestioned king of that great palace, carrying its valuable cargo of precious human lives, mail and commercial treasure. The tiny boat then returns to the pilot-boat and is hauled on board."

Only strong men of sturdy, genuine courage, of courage unknown to most men in ordinary avocations, could thus wrest their living from the great waste of waters.

On one occasion Mr. Grant was in a pilot-boat when the steamer "Etruria" passed by in a fog. Said he: "We were almost directly in its pathway. Another fifty feet to starboard and we should have been run down. I was half dozing when the monster vessel, with a whirl and a roar, like a mountain, was upon us. Imagine a mountain,—not a mere avalanche of snow,—but the mountain itself passing by at lightning speed, and within a stone's throw. Literally I felt the hairs of my head stiffen like the quills of a porcupine, and I speak the truth when I say that my cap was raised. But I did not experience that feeling until the ship had disappeared. It was after the danger was over that I awoke to a sense of it. A ship is indeed a living thing, a mighty, powerful, sentient being, and when you become, as it were, a part of its life, then you begin to understand it and not until."

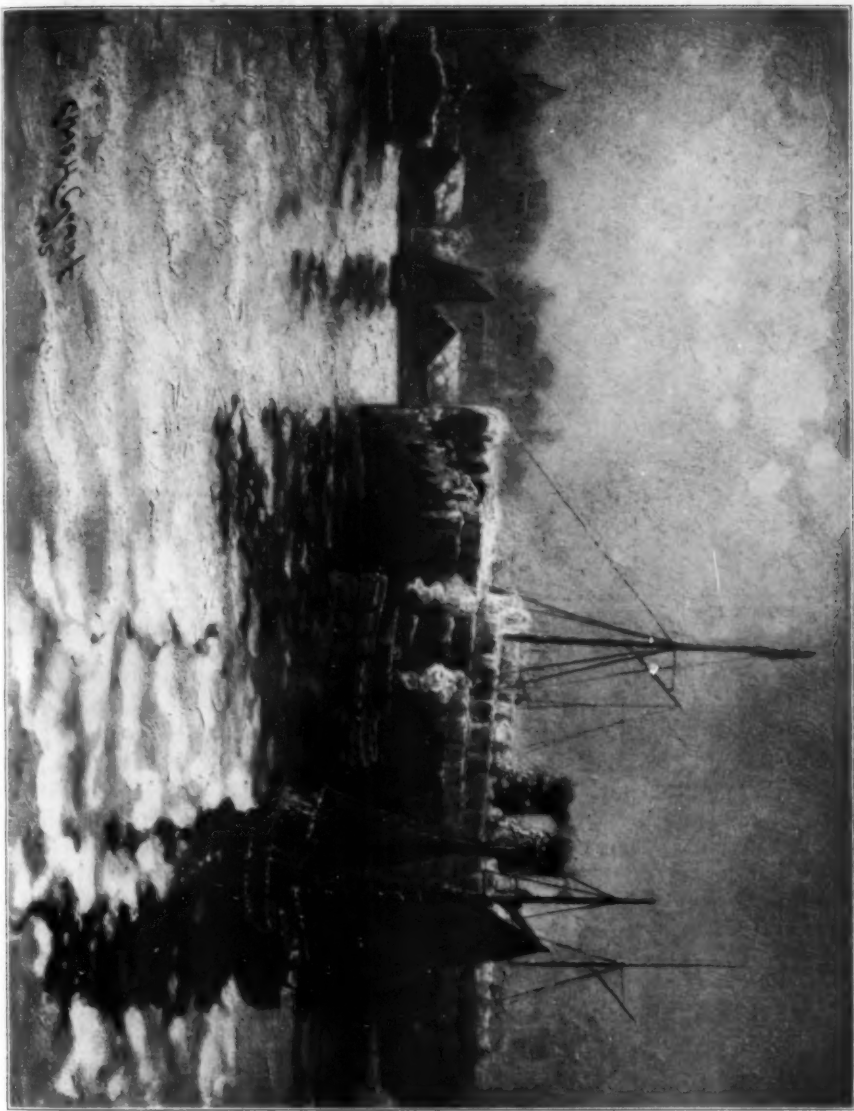
In presenting to the readers of THE ARENA specimens of Mr. Grant's art, I have selected seven representative subjects, which, to my mind, shows the full extent of his work up to the present time. He is yet a young man. He has wisely kept his immature efforts from the public, and, better still, out of the hands of his friends. These pictures show a maturity of handling that demands for Mr. Grant a decidedly high place. They are proof that he can accomplish large things if he will.

"Homeward Bound" is of an old type ship of the early 'sixties or 'seventies. It was ships of this build that made American shipping famous throughout the world

for grace of line, speed and strength. This beauty is well presented in the painting. The fore-shortened "sheer line" is itself the indication of her American build. Here is bounding, spirited, active life. The ship, with all sails set except the top-gallant stay-sail, which is being placed, is partly "light" and on her way home. Everything favors her; a spanking breeze is on her starboard quarter; weather is good; sky is clear; men are happy. The waves themselves are full of life and sparkling with sunlit joy, and many a song, audible and inaudible, goes forth from welling hearts at the thought of soon seeing loved ones again. The picture is a living one. It appeals both to one's emotions and sense of life as well as to the love of the beautiful in form and color.

In "Ahead, Full Speed," Mr. Grant strikes an entirely different note, yet it possesses the same freedom, strength, power and grace. Here is a tramp steamer forging ahead at full speed. The jib and fore-top sails are set with the foresail furled. The wind is on her starboard quarter, so that, sailing nearly before the wind her canvas helps her along. The smokestack can dimly be seen behind the sails, and the sun coming out of the fog shows over the edge of the topsail. With mighty vigor and power the great vessel shoulders her way through the water, while the waves dash up on her port bow. Here rushing power, overwhelming force are personified, especially to one who can see the oncoming vessel as from a small boat in a fog. A distant signal has been heard in the fog, and, almost in a moment, the mountain-like shape looms ahead on the top of a wave out of the mist. One can feel the peculiar fascination such a mass of mystery, vastness and gloomy power must possess when it thus suddenly comes into sight. In this picture Mr. Grant has been singularly felicitous in the handling of the prismatic colors in the dashing of the spray over the vessel's bow, especially in the brilliant glimpse afforded to leeward.

Charles H. Grant, Pinx.



"SAFE IN PORT."



Charles H. Grant, Pinx.

"PASSING THE LIGHT."

In number three, "Will the Anchor Hold?" the artist has combined the emotions of fear and suspense with his pictorial art to thrill and interest. The water is green and the spray opalescent, for the sunlight is shining through the clouds, lighting up the fierce wave that dashes amidships over the vessel. This is a Lake Ontario schooner, caught in the gale. Her sails are old and one of them,—the jib,—has gone to pieces at the first rude thrust of the tempest, and now hangs in tatters, flapping and slapping in the wind. The staysail is falling and a man forward is trying to stow it; the foresail is down, and other men are trying to get in the mizzen and stow it snug as soon as possible. The waves and wind have forced the vessel near the shore as is shown by the waves forming into breakers. The only hope of the crew is the anchor. This has been thrown

out. The natural question in every heart, as the chain creaks and strains and snaps to the dashing power of the angry waves, is: "Will the anchor hold?" It is interesting to learn from the painter that the inspiration for this picture was a scene that he actually witnessed, where, fortunately, during a long period of frightful suspense, the anchor did hold, and the vessel reached a port of safety.

In the painting itself there is a vividness about the water and the clouds which are heavy, thick, lowering and full of angry life, which led an eminent critic immediately he saw it to exclaim: "There, that's what I call water, real, live, angry, surfeited water. No one can look at it and not feel the swing and go, the life and power, the dash and fierceness, the hope and despair of it all." The rush of water, though tremendous and awful, is inspiring; the boat hugs its anchor-chain



Charles H. Grant, Pinx.

"AT THE MERCY OF NEPTUNE."

as if it knew its only safety lay in its staying power. One feels the mighty force of angry nature combatting the works of puny man. The whole composition of this picture is pleasing,—the careening of the vessel; the wave dashing up to its masts; the curling over of the breakers; the movement of the clouds and waves; the active life in the sails and ropes. The coloring also is effective and fine. This painting now has a place in the gallery of R. A. C. Smith, Commodore of the New York Yacht Club.

In December or January, almost any cold, frosty day, when everything crackles and sparkles under the feet, any one of the residents of Hoboken coming over to New York in the ferryboat may see such a scene as Mr. Grant has painted in his "Safe in Port." The great transatlantic liner limping into port, days overdue, with rigging, smokestack, rails, bow and sides covered with ice, and smoke lazily creeping out of the stacks, tells her own story. She bears the scars of her battles with the elements. She creeps slowly along, seemingly glad of the aid of the tiny tug by her side. The fishing schooner to the right glides jauntily and saucily

along, while beyond is another small craft. To the left is a retreating ferryboat, leading the eye to the tall buildings of the metropolis beyond, which loom up mysterious, vast, peculiar in the hazy atmosphere. The strange color effects of water in the winter, on a foggy day, when the sun is struggling to shine, are well presented by Mr. Grant in this picture, and he has judiciously used the shadows to enhance them. At the distant pier we can readily imagine the assembled relatives eagerly awaiting the overdue vessel; the anxiety gone from their faces, relief and anticipation taking its place. To one who has either waited, or been waited for, this picture will especially appeal, and to anyone, the triumphant power of the great vessel, as it thus glides to its dock, gives a sense of glory in the marvelous achievements of man on the ocean.

"Passing the Light" is a picture of strong action and living interests. A fishing schooner under reefed mainsail, is beating her way through a fast increasing sea, past a dangerous reef, on which a lighthouse is placed. The scurrying clouds, the long sweep of the waves grow-



Charles H. Grant, Pinx.

"SHIP OFF THE STARBOARD BOW!"

ing in their wildness, dashing over the starboard bow of the vessel, her hull glistening with the wet of the over-dashing waves, her lee-rail buried under the water, all speak of the strong conflict, in which, however, the boat, guided by intelligent man, will win.

In "At the Mercy of Neptune" the life and strength of Mr. Grant's work is perhaps most vividly set forth. Here a sturdy ship with sails set has been irresistibly battered to a rocky shore by the fierce attacks of wind and wave. Fate has seemed to fight against the gallant vessel. She has battled against overwhelming odds; her sails have been split, and now, tattered and shapeless ribbons, they flutter in the gale, speaking eloquently of the hopes of the men who once controlled the vessel's destiny. The flag

still flutters in the gale, appealing as it were for help to a rocky and pitiless shore. Where is the crew? No one is in sight. The ship is abandoned. Driven on shore in the now abating storm, there was nothing for the crew to do but seek to escape. Who can tell what has become of them? The long sweep of the engulfing waves that break in such fury over the apparently doomed vessel, however, show signs of speedy abatement. The wind, while still fierce, will give way to the gentler influences suggested by the incoming glints of sunlight, and though now evidently "At the Mercy of Neptune," there is about the uplifted prow, the light shining amidships, the taut sail that has weathered the storm, and the still flying flag, a feeling of hopefulness, of optimism, that clearly says the dawn will bring relief. In the general handling of the subject, Mr. Grant has had

full exercise for his power and he has produced a living picture, and therefore one that will live.

In "Ship Off the Starboard Bow!" one loses so much of the power and force of the original painting that it is only by the exercise of some imagination that one can realize its strength and power from the reproduction. The conception is strong and realistic. A fishing schooner, in the afternoon of a somewhat foggy day, with foresail, mainsail, jib and square foretopsail set, on her way to the fishing-ground, with man aloft on the lookout, is suddenly aroused by the cry "Ship off the starboard bow!" In a moment all is excitement. The fog has compelled both vessels to go under shortened canvas, yet the crew of the little vessel know that in the vast, looming monster just

before them is destruction and death should she yaw the least to starboard. On both boats men run to and fro. The wheel of the fishermen is thrown "hard down," and the captain calls out his orders while the men work the sheets. It is such events as this that make ship captains men of promptitude. Vessels go on, they neither stop nor wait. They make events quickly, and the men who guide them must think and act promptly, if they would avoid danger and possible death. The aim of the fishermen is to 'ware off, so the main and starboard braces of the foresail are immediately manned. The sheets of the mainsail are hauled in board. As she clears the oncoming monster, a cheer goes up from her crew, while the great vessel ploughs on, pushing her irresistible way through the waves.

It will be seen from these examples of Mr. Grant's work that he is not the painter of the quiet, the still, the calm of the sea. This mood, or poetic feeling of quiet, has not yet come to him; he is still in the full flush of fiery, active youth, when action, motion, force, power, life, appeal to him. With the exception of the ice-covered steamer "Safe in Port," which implies active strength in abeyance,

every picture is one of motion, of life, of action. We venture to prophesy that this active mood will continue in Mr. Grant for another decade or more, and then he will gradually begin to feel the softer and more quieting influences that reign on the ocean during a calm. Then he will become as powerful a depicter of the poetry and gentleness, as now he is of the motion, power and unrestrained activity, of the sea.

It should also be observed that all Mr. Grant's pictures, no matter what the scene, possess the glad optimism of youth in them. Even in such pictures as "Will the Anchor Hold?" or "At the Mercy of Neptune" you feel that all the chances are in favor of the vessels. There is nothing that denotes despair, or letting go, or faltering. This in itself is a good thing, both for the artist and his pictures. It is the optimism of healthful life that helps others. Pessimism at best is a poor prop to lean on in the day of trouble, and Mr. Grant is to be congratulated upon the fact that his optimism is natural and spontaneous, and, therefore, is communicated both to his pictures and those who see them.

GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.

Pasadena, Cal.

GENERAL SIMON BOLIVAR: THE LIBERATOR OF NORTHERN SOUTH AMERICA.

BY PROFESSOR FREDERIC M. NOA.

WITHIN the last ten years, or ever since ex-President Cleveland issued his momentous message on that subject to Congress, the affairs of Venezuela have attracted considerable attention on the part of the United States. It is, therefore, befitting to give a brief biographical outline of her most renowned son, General Bolivar, the liberator and Washington of the northern half of Spanish-speak-

ing South America. To form an impartial estimate of this remarkable statesman and military genius is extremely difficult, owing to the fact that his admirers idolized him as a deity and paragon of matchless virtue, while his many virulent enemies painted him in the blackest colors.

A more varied and tempestuous career than that of General Simon Bolivar can hardly be conceived. He was born in



GENERAL SIMON BOLIVAR,
THE LIBERATOR OF NORTHERN SOUTH AMERICA.

Caracas, Venezuela, on the 24th of July, 1783. He was of distinguished ancestry on both his father's and mother's side. He inherited a princely estate and fortune. He went to Europe for his education, witnessed the coronation of the mighty Napoleon as king of Italy, visited the Sacred Mount of Rome, where he solemnly vowed that he would deliver South America from the intolerable yoke of Spain, married, in 1809, a beautiful young lady, and then, as he was returning with her to his native country, saw her fall a victim to yellow fever.

The grief-stricken Bolivar henceforth became wedded to the cause of Latin-American liberty. He returned, after a brief stay in the United States, to Venezuela, and witnessed, on the 4th of July, 1811, at Caracas, the signing of the Venezuelan declaration of independence. He enlisted in the patriot army, under the venerable General Francisco Miranda, who at first gained some important victories over the Spaniards. Miranda, however, was a high-souled visionary and

fatally lacking in military capacity. Nature, moreover, conspired in favor of the royalists, for, on the 26th of March, 1812, the most frightful earthquake that ever afflicted northern South America shook the whole of Venezuela, completely destroyed Caracas and her other cities and caused ten thousand persons to perish. The fanatical priesthood did not fail to work upon the overwrought feelings of the people, with the result that thousands deserted the ranks of the insurgents and acknowledged again allegiance to the imbecile king Ferdinand VII. of Spain. A large Spanish fleet had also arrived with strong reinforcements of veteran troops. Finally, as a crowning catastrophe, a successful uprising of Spanish prisoners confined in the Venezuelan fortress and seaport of Puerto Cabello, the defence of which had been entrusted to Colonel Bolivar, rendered General Miranda's position so untenable that he was forced to conclude an honorable capitulation with the Viceroy Monteverde, by the terms of which safety and protection were guaranteed to all Venezuelans, and amnesty was extended to insurgents who should lay down their arms (July 29, 1812).

Bolivar, who reached the rash conclusion that Miranda was a traitor, resolved to arrest his venerable commander, which he accordingly did, aided by a few confederates, in the dead of night, while the unhappy general lay, at La Guayra, in a profound slumber. Miranda was thrown into Fort San Carlos where a Spanish officer, sent to take over the fort, found him next day and dispatched him to Monteverde. The latter, untroubled by any scruples of conscience, had him immediately transported to Spain, where he was loaded with chains and confined in a loathsome dark cell in Cadiz until death mercifully ended his sufferings in 1816. History has vindicated the name of this saintly martyr of Latin-American liberty, and justly condemned Bolivar for an act which must ever be a black stain upon the latter's character.



THE CONFEDERATED REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA,

Founded by General Simon Bolivar, December 17, 1819, then including in its jurisdiction Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador.

There was now no alternative left for Bolivar except to flee from Venezuela and seek refuge in the Dutch West India Island of Curaçoa, a few miles off the northern coast of his native country. From this moment, he was destined to experience the most startling changes of alternate good and ill fortune. He quickly repaired to Cartagena, Colombia, then in the power of the republicans, and by his enthusiasm and fiery oratory raised a small expeditionary force. He disobeyed the orders of his superiors, fell, like a lightning flash, upon an astonished Spanish army, routed it, and conceived the daring project of invading Venezuela by crossing eastward the lofty Cordillera of the northern Andes mountains, a movement he brilliantly executed, utterly defeating a far superior enemy, the royalist

troops leaving all their artillery, munitions and baggage to the conquerors (February 28, 1813). He next penetrated, at the head of one thousand poorly armed and supplied patriots, through tropical swamps, and by almost impracticable paths, one thousand miles into the interior, augmented his little army by incredible exertions, moved forward with extraordinary rapidity, and, when least expected, fell, with superior forces, upon detachments of the enemy and cut them to pieces.

Invested now by the Congress of Colombia with enlarged powers, General Bolivar received fearful reports, amply confirmed by the unbiased testimony of British officers in his service, that the Spanish monster Monteverde and his subordinates were committing unparal-

leled atrocities upon the defenceless, sparing neither age nor sex. He reluctantly resolved to meet the foul despoilers of his beautiful native country with their own weapons, and therefore issued his celebrated proclamation of *guerra á muerte*, war to the knife; that is, he declared a war of extermination. This gave for several years, an extremely horrifying aspect to the war, many slaughterings in cold blood occurring, alternately committed by royalists and patriots, upon hundreds of unfortunate prisoners.

Success still continued to attend General Bolivar's operations, and, on the 6th of August, 1813, he entered Caracas in triumph, where the lovely young daughters of the nobles, in white dresses, and with laurel wreaths, pushed their way through the cheering multitude and took hold of the bridle of his horse. No wonder Bolivar dismounted and wept for joy.

Fickle fortune, however, now turned against him, as the royalists resorted to the desperate expedient of arming the black slaves of the plantations, and inciting them, with promises of unrestrained license and plunder, to rise against their masters. Powerful reinforcements also arrived from Spain, and Bolivar, being beaten at Aragua, Venezuela (August 17, 1814), was forced to abandon his country for the second time, "stripped of everything but the glory of the attempt."

The illustrious exile fled to Colombia, where the Congress of that republic expressed unshaken confidence in him and employed him in compelling the refractory mountainous province of Cundinamarca to submit to its authority. This delicate and difficult mission having been successfully accomplished, Bolivar was appointed Captain-General of the armies of the Colombian Union. He now left Bogotá, the new capital, with a well-selected expedition of two thousand veterans, but his plans were completely thwarted by the machinations of his private enemies, one of whom, Manuel Castillo, commandant of the port of Carta-

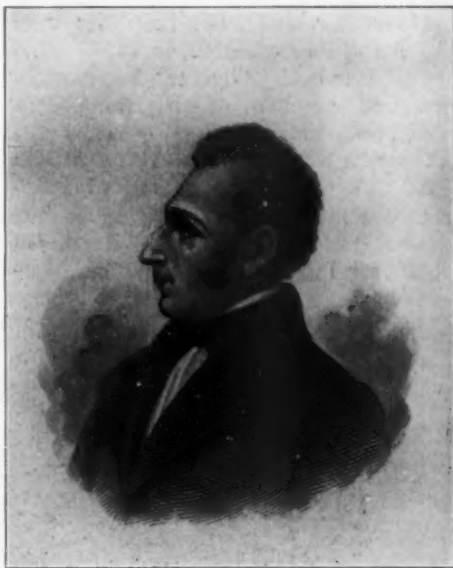
gena, was conspicuous for his obstinacy in withholding munitions and supplies which the army absolutely required. Five precious months were wasted in mutual recriminations when there came the calamitous news that Morillo had arrived from Spain with an army of ten thousand troops and a powerful fleet. Bolivar, finding his little army wasted by pestilential diseases, hastily concluded a convention with Castillo, and, in deep bitterness, fled from South America for Kingston, Jamaica, May 8, 1815.

Whilst in Jamaica, he narrowly escaped assassination at the hands of a paid hireling of an unknown Spaniard. An overruling Providence having saved him from this danger, Bolivar repaired to Port-au-Prince, Island of Hayti, where the noble-minded negro President Pétion hospitably received him, and furnished him with ships and two or three black battalions. With these General Bolivar returned to the north coast of Venezuela, and landed at Ochumare, near La Guayra, but being attacked to disadvantage, was defeated, with the loss of his bravest officers, and forced to reëmbark for Hayti. President Pétion again befriended him, so that, when Bolivar landed a second time on Venezuelan soil, he had the satisfaction of seeing the tide of war turn gradually in favor of the patriots, at the beginning of 1817. About the same time, two thousand British and Irish volunteers, officered by veterans who had fought against Napoleon under the Duke of Wellington, enlisted in the cause of South American liberty.

The memorable year of 1819 was marked by events of transcendent importance. General Bolivar assembled at Angostura the second Congress of Venezuela, but seriously compromised his prestige by earnestly advocating a strongly centralized government or even an absolute monarchy as being the system most likely to conduce to the stability, happiness and prosperity of South America. These injudicious utterances raised against him a host of enemies, and were, in large meas-

ure, the fruitful origin of the animosities and sorrows which were to embitter the rest of his career.

Bolivar was now to undertake an enterprise which should yield him imperishable fame and place him in the ranks of the really few great strategists of either ancient or modern times. His keen intellect perceived that the key to Spanish strength lay in the lofty and mountainous territory of Colombia or New Grenada, and that he must, at all hazards, effect a transit over the Northern Andes, through snow and ice-blocked passes twelve to fifteen thousand feet high, and then crush, once for all, the main army of the royalists. He accordingly raised an expedition of fourteen thousand troops, of cavalry, infantry and artillery, two thousand British and foreign volunteers accompanying him. He left Angostura, Venezuela, on the Orinoco river, in May, when the rainy season was setting in on the extensive forests and llanos or plains of that country. His objective point lay a thousand miles to the west, and to reach it a dense tropical virgin wilderness must be traversed, only six to seven degrees above the equator, when torrential inundations converted the land into seas of pestilential swamps. Poisonous reptiles hung from the trees and devouring alligators infested the waters. The artillery sank deep in the quagmires. Hundreds of miles of these regions having at last been traversed, there began the ascent of the forbidding Andes, their snowy peaks thousands of feet above the clouds. The transit over these mountain chains, among the loftiest in the world, was frightful beyond description, an appalling mortality prevailing, the British and foreign volunteers especially perishing by the hundreds. Finally, at the end of seventy-five days, and having covered a total distance of one thousand miles, Bolivar's diminished and wasted army descended the Andes into Colombia, encountered the royalists at the bridge of Boyocá, August 7, 1819, and won a splendid victory, all the Spanish surviving



GENERAL SUCRE,

Bolivar's second in command, who won the victory of Ayacucho, the final battle of the Latin-American Revolution, December 9, 1824.

Taken from an oil-painting from life by the Lady Sucre, Marchioness of Solanda.

troops being made prisoners, together with their commanding general. Bogotá and all New Grenada became, as a consequence, free from the yoke of Spain.

Bolivar, almost immediately after this wonderful victory, returned to Angostura, where he prevailed upon the Congress of Venezuela to unite herself to New Grenada and form the confederated Republic of Colombia, December 17, 1819. Subsequently, the southern territory of Quito, or Ecuador, was added, the Colombian Union thus extending from the Isthmus of Panama on the north to the regions of the equator on the south, bordering on Peru. Bolivar received the title of *Liberator of Colombia*, and it was decided that a general constituent Congress should assemble at Rosario de Cucuta, in January, 1821, to frame a constitution for the confederacy.

An armistice of six months with the Spanish commander-in-chief of northern South America was concluded, beginning

in November, 1820, but hostilities were resumed at its expiration, in 1821. It is creditable to both belligerents that, henceforth, the war was, on the whole, conducted humanely.

The year 1822 saw the victorious armies of the Liberator bear the standard of liberty to Ecuador, in the regions of the equator. In the same year, he came in contact with the great General San Mar-

live, until his death in 1850, in obscurity and poverty.

This generous sacrifice bore the happiest fruits for South America. Some inexcusable blunders on Bolivar's part caused the war to linger on two years longer, but he retrieved them, went to Peru, crossed the equator southward, and pushed on to the lofty mountains of Upper Peru, which he proclaimed as a



A PASS IN THE LOFTY ANDES OF NORTHERN SOUTH AMERICA.

tin whose genius had already emancipated the southern half of Spanish-speaking America, that is, Argentina, Chile and Peru. The two greatest military geniuses of South America met in secret conference at Guayaquil, Ecuador, July 22d, but, after three days of earnest consultation, separated, San Martin, knowing that Bolivar could brook no powerful rival, sublimely yielded in the interests of South American independence, resigned his immense power as Protector of Peru, summoned the first Congress of that country, placed the command of his Chilo-Argentine army under his rival, sailed, in September, for Chile, and shortly afterwards retired to France, there to

new republic, called, in his honor, by its grateful inhabitants, Bolivia. There, in the land of the highest Andes, in the ancient empire of the Incas, ruthlessly destroyed by Pizarro and the Spanish conquerors three centuries previously, the final act of the Latin-American drama for life, liberty, happiness and independence was played in 1824.

The final battle of the Latin-American Revolution, won, after months of consummate strategy, by General Sucre, Bolivar's second in command, was fought, December 9, 1824, at Ayacucho, on a plateau about 12,000 feet above the Pacific, surrounded by some of the loftiest snow-covered peaks of the Peruvian

Andes. In spite of Sucre's army being reduced to starvation and in size only about half that of their opponents, that is, six thousand, the royalists suffered a disastrous defeat, with a loss of upwards of two thousand men in killed and wounded, and the surrender of about four thousand more as prisoners of war, including the Viceroy La Serna and fifteen general officers.

Sucre's crowning triumph forever assured the independence of not only Latin America but the United States as well. At this point, Bolivar was to cease any further military operations. His generous mind yearned to carry the banner of freedom and light still further. If his hand had not been stayed by the government of the United States, then dominated by the intrenched American slave-owning power, he would have saved Cuba and Porto Rico from seventy-five years more of Spanish thralldom, and would have sent his liberating navies and armies across the Oriental Pacific and have liberated the Philippines, also. Had he been free to act, who can say how much farther advanced in true civilization the present twentieth century might have been?

Bolivar, in 1825, had reached the pinnacle of fame. He had become the acknowledged ruler of the northern half of Spanish-speaking South America, over a continental territory as large as the United States. The following year he summoned the first Pan-American Congress at Panama. Its deliberations led to no immediate results, yet, there the seed was sown which was to ripen into international arbitration, the ever-growing agitation for universal disarmament and honorable peace, and the reserving of the American continent and adjacent islands as the free and independent home and country of all the oppressed of the earth.

After 1826, the eclipse of the great Liberator's life, ended within the next four years, had already begun. His fatal love of ostentation, adulation and the exercise of power imposed ordeals upon him which his more self-poised rival San Martin

escaped. He endeavored, with disastrous results, to compel the nations he had liberated to accept constitutions monarchical in their nature and wholly hostile to the natural environment of the Western Hemisphere. His overshadowing personality inspired a universal dread in South America that he would, after all, trample upon her dearly-bought liberties and become another Cæsar or Napoleon. Bolivar, however, with all his glaring faults, was a patriot and soldier of liberty, and he at last awoke to the error of his ways.

The closing year of his life was intensely tragic. He had sacrificed both his health and his princely fortune in the cause of South American emancipation. At forty-seven he was a physical wreck. The Colombian Republic he had built up fell into anarchy and the separate parts formed seceding republics. Sincerely anxious to bring peace to distracted northern South America, he withdrew from public affairs on the 30th of April, 1830. He retired, in extreme poverty, to private life and fatally ill, and his sensitive nature was stung to the quick when he received the news that his bosom friend the illustrious General Sucre had been foully assassinated in the forests of Ecuador, June 4th. From this moment he never rallied, and inexorable fate also willed that he should still be pursued by the venom of his implacable enemies, some of the worst of whom were in his own native country Venezuela. The crisis came in December, 1830, when his illness turned to rapid pneumonia. On the 10th he sank so low that he received the sacrament, made his will, and addressed these final words of farewell to the Colombians:

"My last prayers are for the felicity of my native country: if my death should contribute towards party strife ceasing, and the Union being consolidated, I shall go to the grave with tranquility."

From the 10th until the 17th, the vital spark lingered like a flickering lamp. At

one o'clock in the afternoon of that day, his soul, "too great for what contained it," passed into the life beyond. Prematurely old, he had reached only the age of forty-seven years and five months.

He was honored with a public military funeral at Santa Martha, but only in 1842 did the joint commissioners of Colombia and Venezuela exhume his remains and have them transported in a Venezuelan warship to La Guayra, whence they were taken overland to Caracas, his birthplace, where, on the 17th of December, the anniversary of his death, they were deposited amid the most imposing ceremonies in

the Cathedral of Caracas, where his ancestors had been buried. There, a splendid sarcophagus, made in Italy at the expense of the Republic of Venezuela, has been erected. "A beautiful though tardy reparation," says Señor Don José Manuel Restrepo, the eminent Colombian historian, "for the insults to which he was subjected during his life by the sons of Venezuela and Caracas on whom Bolívar had conferred so much luster and distinction, and to whom he had rendered so many incalculable benefits!"

FREDERIC M. NOA.

Malden, Mass.

WHAT OUR UNIVERSITIES ARE DOING FOR AMERICAN LITERATURE.

BY EDWIN DAVIES SCHOONMAKER,

Author of The Saxons.

"WE ARE living our epic," said a professor some years ago in answer to a question as to the cause for the dearth in America of literary works of the first order. This reply, reaching the public through various channels, assuaged in a large measure the mortification which the nation felt. And how deep this had been was apparent in the delight with which the phrase was taken up and in the alacrity with which it was tossed from shore to shore. To-day, if a foreigner should ask of educated men and women in any part of our country, "What is the matter with American literature? Why is it that you people, admittedly leading the world in so many lines of intellectual activity, lag so far behind in this particular line, literature?" he is certain to be met with: "Ah, but you do not consider the place of literature in the order of development. You are looking for blossoms at a time when the trunk is just dividing into branches. We have not yet mastered the valleys and mountains of our great land. Lit-

erature comes with leisure and as yet we have no leisure. We are a business people. We are taking out our iron and coal, building our highways and cities. You saw New York and Chicago, how they tower up into heaven? Then you have seen upon what it is that the swelling brain of the American Titan is at work. With us it is still the age of the hammer. The pen will come later. First the battle, then the song. Agamemnon, then Homer. We are living our epic."

What is meant by "living our epic"? Obviously that we are sailing our Ægean or pounding the walls of some new Troy for the rescue of some new Helen. What is our Ægean? Our troubled industrial sea. And our Troy that must be battered down? The old-world idea of king and peasant carried into the new régime of industry. And our Helen? That beautiful social harmony which the seers of all ages have foreseen and for which martyrs have died and are still dying. It is unquestionably true that

this great work, for which our new humanity is just taking up arms, must first be accomplished before it can be sung. In this sense and in this sense alone is the fact that we are "living our epic" an excuse for our not writing it. When industry that is now drudgery shall have become romance, then, and not till then, will our Homer appear and begin his song. But before there can be romance there must first be victory, and victory is something which we have not yet achieved. We are still encamped upon our Troad.

But the apologist for our disease of sterility in great literature does not deal squarely with us. When he says: "We are living our epic," he uses the word epic in the sense in which it is applied to the *Iliad*, a narrative of an heroic enterprise, or to the historical plays of Shakespeare which have been called the real English epic. The Wars of the Roses and the French wars must be fought before the great kings can move in spiritual majesty through the plays. And we who are engaged in a still more heroic enterprise must fight out our industrial battle before we can marshal its heroes upon the pages of immortal verse. But in the suppressed half of the sentence, "and therefore we can not be expected to be writing our epic," the word epic is used in its broader, derivative sense which includes all literature in its higher forms. Else how should the phrase serve the purpose for which it was coined, the general propping up of the national pride? For it is not alone our epic that is lacking, but our drama and novel as well.

And the cause for this, we are told, is that we have no leisure, that we are living in a business age. What a clearing-house for the sins of the nation is this business age of ours! How naked, how unrepresentable we would appear were it not for some such wide-flowing mantle. Is there a vice, is there a shortcoming at which fingers are pointed from oversea that does not disappear under its great folds? If government is corrupt, the poison has its

fountain in the age. If the Church is venal, it is the age that has made it so. And if the young men and women of America, in whom burn the fires of Apollo, go down the iron way and are heard of no more, "The age, Lord, which thou gavest us, she did it." Strange how our fathers ever got along without this all-cleansing absolution.

Is it true that we have no leisure? Dare we say so when we have in abundance that which makes leisure possible, wealth? Do we not boast that we are the richest nation in the world? And if we are the richest, have we not potentially the most leisure? If leisure were all that were needed, could we not, with our surplus bank-stock, purchase a golden age far surpassing the age of Pericles or of Elizabeth? Why do we not do it? Because we know that it is not leisure, but leisure plus a knowledge of how to use leisure, that has built the golden ages of the world. And do we know how to use leisure? Suppose we should purchase it, what would we do with it? We would be in the position of a man who has purchased a musical instrument which he knows not how to play. And we are too familiar with the ridiculousness of the Bourgeois turned Gentleman ever as a nation to wish to imitate him. We are too proud to love being laughed at.

If we prefer to spend our money for lumber and iron and hogs, which we know how to use, rather than for leisure, which we know not how to use, are we therefore sordid? There would be some foundation for the charge were it not for the fact that we have astonished the world by the vast sums which we have spent in our efforts to learn how to use leisure. Phillip of Macedon was not more solicitous for the education of his son than are we for the education of young America. We have reared and swung wide the doors of scores of universities. We have provided them with equipment the like of which the world has never seen. Have they asked for buildings, we have piled them up until they have become cities in

themselves. Have they asked for fields where the body of the nation might be made more beautiful and efficient, we have laid out ample stadia and have pointed our young men to the Greeks. Have they mentioned club-houses where the new social sense might come to flower, we have supplied them. Theaters, have they not had them? And to aid our wise men in their work of instruction, have we not imported masters from oversea? What is it that we have left undone?

We are told that this is a business age; then let us be business-like. If a manufacturing enterprise is not paying dividends, the owners overhaul it, examine it, and find out why. If it is discovered that it is a particular department that has occasioned the loss and, by its unsatisfactory work, has injured the reputation of the plant, that department is at once renovated and new methods are installed and, if necessary, new men. We have put millions into our universities and each year we are putting millions more. Is it not about time we were looking into this investment to see if these institutions or any part of them are running at a loss? Or is it of more importance to know that the shoes of the nation are being well made than it is to know that its brain is being properly trained? At least, as Yankees, we ought to want to know if we are getting our money's worth.

Using as a criterion of excellence the recognition of Europe, for our own judgment is apt to be a little warped, what have our universities done to justify this vast outlay? Do we know any more of how to use leisure than we knew before they were established? Are we any nearer to self-expression? What have they done? They have sent forth athletes who have met and vanquished the best. Their technical schools have produced engineers and mechanics who have built monuments to their skill in every land. In science, too, their graduates are making a name not only for themselves but for their country. Of the

work done by these departments one would perhaps be a little over-exacting to complain. But what these have done only renders more conspicuous what the others have not done. Can we overlook the fact that our statue has no head? Where in the field of glory are the representatives of that large department which presides over the arts and whose task it is to develop the literary genius of the nation? Why is it that we have no poets to compare with our athletes, no novelists to match our engineers, no dramatists to stand up with our scientists? Something is wrong. What is it? The age?

No, distinguished gentlemen of the arts department, it is not the age that is to blame: it is you. You receive each year into your classrooms young men and women as brainy and as bright as any that find their way into the mechanical schools or the laboratories. As hungry for fame as those who seek it with the microscope or in the paths of commercial life they come to you, as those who know can testify, on fire with divine enthusiasm and hopeful of some day producing works which their country "will not let die," and after years of instruction under you, go away with their dream fabrics disintegrated and falling down. Is it not true? Have you not for years watched the horizon hoping to see those bright minds rise and shed their glory? Have they done so? Run over the roll of those whose books have attracted the attention not of Europe but simply of our own land and note what a small proportion of them have had their training under you. Add to this the fact that our painters and sculptors, whose works are honored abroad as equal to the best, are the products of European schools, and you have before you facts that should make you pause and seriously consider if there may not be something wrong with your methods.

In spite of all this, in spite of the fact that this department of our universities has done little or nothing to loosen the

tongue of our great democracy, successful business men go on year after year furnishing funds for carrying on the work in the same old way. Were it a mining company or a manufacturing enterprise, does any one imagine that the vein would not long ago have been abandoned or the plant shut down or at least that a rigid investigation would not have been made? Then why this laxity with regard to education? How are we to explain this apparently unbusiness-like procedure of our business men? Possibly from their view-point the procedure is not unbusiness-like. Let us see.

Each year our great commercial organizations are calling louder and louder for brains. The cry is raised that they cannot get efficient help. Our export trade, which is making its way into every mart and jungle of the known world, is meeting each year with a resistance that is fast becoming an attack. Never before has our trade line been so hacked at. The conflict is on in deadly earnest and the nation which throws the most brains into the battle is going to win. At such a crisis to allow a young man or woman of ability to idle with art would be the height of folly. Write literature when our dividends are in danger! If our dividends are decreased where are you universities going to get your endowments? Do you hear? If our dividends are decreased where are you universities going to get your endowments? Do as we say and you shall have all the millions you want. Turn us our business men, men whom we can use as bolts and screws in our great trade-machines, engineers and mechanics: our contracts are terribly behind. Yes, and scientists: they discover devices and chemicals and keep our factories up to date. Your athletes, too, make good stuff; they do n't get crazy notions in their heads. What shall we do with those in our arts department? Send the sharp ones to us. But they want to write. Botch their brains so they can't.

Has something like this been whispered

behind the scenes when the gold has been handed out? Or is this one of those things which are simply understood? Are our universities being operated as by-plants of the trusts, shaping their product to the order of the masters? And are we to be left no alternative but believe that the young men and women of America who might be writing our drama and novel have been sold to our czars of trade and, shipped off to the firing-line, are bombarding some outpost for the Beef-Trust or serving as spies for the Standard Oil Company? Certainly no better method could be found of "botching their brains" and forcing into the commercial those who are ambitious for the literary life than that employed by the instructors in our universities.

What is the process by which great literature is produced? Synthesis. What is the process taught by our universities? Analysis. The poem is studied as a flower is studied not by the artist but by the botanist, torn apart petal and ovule. That splendid piling up of golden stone on golden stone, the natural process in creation, is never seen in the classroom. How the "cloud-capped towers and gorgeous palaces" arise is never dealt with. The lightning of genius, that is now here, now there, building in an instant for eternity, is, it would seem, either feared as something elemental and therefore destructive, or else it is passed over as something of too little importance to engage the attention of serious men. The stones are the thing, and the mortar between them, not the art of the builder. That has to do with the mechanic. Universities are places of education. Education is the finding of truth, and truth is found by analysis. Why our professors of literature have followed this will-o'-the-wisp is easily perceived. Peering over into the department of science and beholding the wonders there wrought by analysis they have imagined that the same process would give similar results in literature. It seems never to have occurred to these learned men that science

and literature are two very different things; that whereas the discovery of a new element in matter may mean the laying hold on a vital law, a new element discovered in the works of a poet can never be anything more than a dead fact. And so we have the spectacle of the poem dissected by the knife and the drama examined under the microscope. It is idle to expostulate that the life principle in literature is beauty, and that to discover beauty there is no need of the microscope or the knife. They know what they are doing. They are seeking the color-scheme in Tennyson or what odors appealed most to Baudelaire. It is not to be expected, of course, that students entering the classroom for the first time should immediately perceive the importance of this. And so, if they go on for a while idling their time away producing stories and poems and fragments of dramas, we must be patient with them. Sooner or later they will come to see how they are wasting their golden youth. Meanwhile everything possible is done to discourage them from such practices and to turn their minds to worthy objects. In order that there may be no doubt in the minds of the students as to the purpose of the instruction, fellowships and other university honors are never awarded to those who show a genius for creating but only to those who show an aptitude for dissecting literature. Figure out the time scheme of Faust. Write a thesis showing how much Wordsworth owed to Percy's *Reliques*. Trace the beginnings of romanticism as shown by the love of wild-flowers in the age of Anne. Is Hamlet mad? A prize to him who first finds the germ. The recitation becomes a clinic. The Prince of Denmark is stretched upon the table and the search begins. And so it goes. If one class has immortalized itself by discovering that the favorite color of Tennyson is purple, another wins equal honor by showing what bird is most often mentioned by Milton. With the soul of literature these

men have nothing to do. That belongs to God. But of that which belongs to man no part has been overlooked. Skeleton, veins, pigment-centers, corpuscles, not an atom but has passed under the lens. And this work, the pride of our rhetors, has been rendered august by giving it that name which science has made illustrious, original research. Original, indeed. And applied to the study of literature, surpassingly original. A sculptor is envious of a warrior and because the warrior has won glory with the sword the sculptor uses the same instrument in the carving of his statue. And when his Venus turns out a hitching-post he looks about and does not know what the trouble is. Finally he concludes that it is because he is living in a military age. A professor of science has won glory and a professor of literature has had his eye open. Eureka! Now we have it. This is the way to teach literature. Out with your microscopes, young men. Let us discover something. And these learned gentlemen do not see that it is not Hamlet who is mad!

This, then, is the education of our youth. This is the training those undergo to whom the nation is looking for immortal books. Is it any wonder that our poets lack the divine fire and look more to their words than to their thoughts, that our drama is impotent and cannot soar, that our novel gropes and cannot find its way? Is it any wonder that, while our athletes return from the games with the Olympic crown, while our engineers are summoned abroad to give advice to kings, while our statesmen are admitted as peers in the councils of the nations, while our painters and sculptors stand four square and look the world in the face, is it any wonder that our literary lights burn low? Taught to unravel the brains of others, is it any wonder that our young authors enter upon their work with their own brains unraveled? And if, after years of struggling with a demon that forces them to pick apart when they would put together, pause and consider when they should

rush on and attain, they give up in despair and enlist in the army of trade, is it the age that is to blame? Or is it the masters of the age, those men who think it nefarious that the young men and women of America should idle with art when trade is in danger, whose armies are calling for recruits, and who, using the machinery of education, see to it that their will is obeyed, that their fighting line is kept full? We ask again, is there some dark contract that is being fulfilled? Are the millions that are being poured into the coffers of our universities really not a charity but a price paid for service?

One of the largest of these institutions has lately appointed a committee to ascertain, if possible, why it is that the scores who annually go from her supposedly equipped for the production of great books, are afterwards never heard of, or heard of only as space-writers for the daily press or as contributors to the magazines. Has this been done to allay the growing suspicions of the public and to stay its wrath? One of those investigations the purpose of which is to prevent investigation? Or is it really a sign of the dawn? Can it be that our universities are actually waking up? And they have begun to lose faith in their own creed that the cause is in the age!

We confess we should much prefer to see this investigation carried on by outside parties. This arrangement would be more satisfactory all round. The public would then have no cause to question the findings of the committee on

the ground of "undue influence," or to wink, as it sometimes does, when in municipal affairs a committee appointed to examine into the soundness of a work is composed of those who have done the work. And apart from this, we are not sure that the training of professors is such as to make it possible for them to find out what we want to know. What we want to know is what is the matter with our literature. If something were the matter with our finances we would call in not professors of finance but financiers. If something were wrong with our art we would consult not teachers of art but artists. Then if we suggest that in the present case the committee be composed not of professors of literature but of producers of literature we believe we are within the lines of common sense. And we would further suggest that the scope of the investigation be extended, that the committee be asked to inquire into and state, first, whether it find the method employed in teaching literature to be, as we claim, the anatomical method; second, whether it find the condition on which fellowships are awarded to be, as we claim, an aptitude for dissecting literature; and third, as to the cause of these stupendous follies. And finally, we would suggest that the report be made public. If the work is done as its importance demands that it should be done, the document should become historic.

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THE VALUE OF AN IMMIGRANT.

BY EX-CONGRESSMAN ROBERT BAKER.

RECENT, as well as former, discussions of the immigration problem have yielded a prolific crop of endorsements of the "value" of good immigrants.

Quite naturally, these gentlemen, whose horizon is bounded by the counting-house and the stock-market, dilate upon the "value" of immigrants, even comparing them with the salable price of negroes in ante-bellum days, in proof of their theory.

Of "value" to whom? it may be asked.

As the immigrant usually brings little but strength, and habits of industry and thrift, whence comes this "value"? Of what does it consist?

Oh! we are told, he is valuable as a producer and consumer.

How clear! This is about as lucid as the average college professor's political economy.

It is as wise as it would be to say, that loss and profit are equally valuable to the manufacturer or merchant.

Production is profit, but consumption is loss. No amount of feticch worship of the "favorable" balance-of-trade theory can make it anything else.

First, as to producers. How are producers benefitted by the addition to their number of another producer—an immigrant?

Is production made easier for them? If production of their products is increased is not the price of their product reduced?

As to consumers. How are consumers benefitted by an increase in the number of consumers?

If an increase of products lowers prices to consumers, does not an increase in consumption raise them to consumers?

But some say: "The immigrant's 'value' as a producer is balanced by his 'value' as a consumer!"

If so, his "value" is eliminated, just as

the merchant's gain is *nil* if his losses equal his profits.

If the immigrant's "value" as a consumer equaled his value as a producer there would be no immigration problem—other than an embargo on criminals, the demented and the physically incapable.

Then American workingmen would have no cause for opposing his entry, nor would the American manufacturer desire to import him. That the former opposes and the latter stimulates immigration proves that as a producer and consumer the immigrant is not in balance.

If he is not in balance in these two capacities, what is the cause?

Before seeking the answer, let us first inquire upon what the exponents of the "value" theory base their contention.

Do they mean that an increase in numbers increases efficiency in production, and, therefore, a greater production results?

If so, there should be a corresponding reduction in price.

If, for instance, three persons produce, say, 8, while four would produce 12, then a reduction of price should result of from $\frac{3}{8}$ ths, to $\frac{4}{12}$ ths, or, for better comparison, from $\frac{3}{8}$ ths, to $\frac{2}{3}$ ths.

If this had been general the most eager to welcome immigrants would be other workers.

It is admitted by all that increased numbers does result in a relatively greater production. Has there been a corresponding reduction in price to consumers? No one so contends. Why not? Why does not this natural law operate? Why is it that from the workers comes the opposition to immigration?

The reason is obvious. They find that an increase in available workers decreases the chances—and, therefore, the remuneration—for workers.

Evidently the balance is out of gear. Evidently their "value" as consumers does not equal their "value" as producers. And this in spite of the increased efficiency which their numbers give.

Why? Because there has been an interference with the natural law.

Why are employers so anxious for immigration?

If an increase in the number of producers resulted in an increase of pay corresponding to the increased efficiency in production, would employers be so anxious to facilitate immigration?

If such increased production resulted either in an increase of pay of, say, from $\frac{8}{24}$ ths to $\frac{9}{24}$ ths, or in a reduction of prices of from $\frac{9}{24}$ ths to $\frac{8}{24}$ ths, would employers encourage immigration?

If they did, we may be sure it would not be in their capacity of employers, but in some other capacity.

It must be remembered that workers seldom have any other relation to their employers than that of workers, while employers (merchants and manufacturers) are frequently also landowners entirely apart from their real estate used for manufacturing or merchandising.

In this is to be found a part of their desire to increase the available number of workers, as their land is made more valuable by the added population and the increased demand for its use. At the same time the increase in workers increases the competition for employment and so forces down the price to be paid to workers.

But test the "value" theory from another standpoint.

So experienced an employer—and monopolist—as Andrew Carnegie puts the "value" at a thousand dollars a head. Accepting this as the correct measure of "value" let us see how it works.

Suppose a community of a thousand inhabitants, and that ten immigrants arrive. This \$1,000 is based, I assume, upon an estimate of 25 years of efficient production, or an annual "value" of \$40.

If the thousand-dollar theory is cor-

rect, then the return to the one thousand inhabitants has been increased \$40x10, or \$400 equal to 40 cents a head. Although small it is nevertheless a gain, and the workers naturally say, if ten helps why not ten thousand? The following year, therefore, immigration having been induced to that extent, the original one thousand find their wages increased by 4c.x10,000, or \$400 apiece, this, of course being an addition to their own wages. In other words, assuming that the one thousand original inhabitants constituted two hundred families, then each family would as a result of the settling in that place of the ten thousand immigrants, receive an increase of wages of \$2,000.

But it will be said that these figures are fanciful, ridiculous, preposterous. Not at all. Not if the theory of "value" is sound, and if it applies, as it is insinuated it does, to the whole people, i. e., to everybody in the country. This hypothetical case is neither fanciful, ridiculous, nor preposterous. It more than has its counterpart in actual facts. Instead of these people profiting to the extent of \$2,000 a family by the presence in their midst of ten thousand immigrants, their gain will be much greater if—

If what? If they have been "shrewd" enough, "sagacious" enough, "astute" enough, "far-seeing" enough, to get title to not only the comparatively limited area they originally occupied, but also that larger area around them which would be needed by the ten thousand when they arrived. Then the more "sagacious" among them would not merely have unearned incomes of \$2,000 a year, but, as more immigrants came, either from abroad or by birth, they would find the reward of their "sagacity" in forestalling immigrants would run into hundreds of thousands and finally into millions of dollars a year. And that very thing has happened.

While there is no trustworthy data upon which to base an estimate of the annual value of the land of the United States, yet, the best obtainable information is that

the annual value of land in the city of New York is not less than \$250,000,000, *i. e.*, its rental value. This amount is now being paid by the immigrants (native as well as foreign) to the few thousand who got possession of the land and who have been "holding it" for them—otherwise it would, of course, have run away.

One family—the Astors—are credited with the possession of \$450,000,000 of New York city real estate. Undoubtedly from two-thirds to three-fourths of this is land value. Let us put it at two-thirds, \$300,000,000, and the yield at five per cent. or \$15,000,000 a year. The return to the two hundred families of my hypothetical community pales into insignificance when compared to the return the Astors get from immigration—domestic and foreign. They, at least, will not dispute the Carnegie theory that each immigrant has a "value" of \$1,000. Their only regret is that some of this "value" slips past them as it goes to form the basis of other land fortunes in the West and South where some of the immigrants settle.

The American workingman is correct in assuming that the immigrant intensifies competition, but the native-born child does this just as much as he who

comes from abroad. He is wrong, however, in assuming that his fight is with the employer as such. It is rather with the man—whether employer or not—who monopolizes land, thereby forcing workers to compete with each other for its use, with the result that the monopolist draws to himself an ever increasing proportion of the yield of the activities of labor and capital.

Until the workers turn their attention to the dog-in-the-manger, who, doing nothing useful himself, yet because of his monopolization of natural opportunities, is able to demand the lion's share of all production, we may expect that he will continue to strike blindly at effects (immigration) instead of at causes (land-monopoly). And he is not to be seriously blamed if he does, as honest capital, *i. e.*, non-monopolistic, is equally blind. It strikes at labor instead of at the common enemy, monopoly. The average capitalist, no more than the average workingman, understands that the "value" of an immigrant inures to him who monopolizes the soil upon which and from which all, whether immigrant or native, must live, and from which all wealth must be produced.

ROBERT BAKER.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

A PRIMER OF DIRECT-LEGISLATION.*

Prepared by Professor FRANK PARSONS, Ph.D., President of the National Public-Ownership League and author of *The City for the People*; ELTWEED POMEROY, President of the National Direct-Legislation League; GEORGE H. SHIBLEY, President of the People's Sovereignty League of America; HON. J. WARNER MILLS; ALLAN L. BENSON; Dr. C. F. TAYLOR; RALPH ALBERTSON, Secretary of the Massachusetts Referendum League; J. P. CADMAN; Dr. J. R. HAYNES; W. S. U'REN; and the Editor of THE ARENA.

CHAPTER ONE.

The Referendum.

Q. WHAT is meant by the Referendum?

A. The Referendum means the referring of a law or ordinance or any specific question to the people for decision at the polls.

A vote on a law or ordinance may be taken, not for the purpose of decision, but merely to secure an accurate and definite expression of public opinion. This is a quasi-Referendum or public-opinion vote, such as is in use in Illinois; also in some cities, such as Chicago and Detroit.

The Referendum also means the right of the people to demand the submission of an enactment or measure to the voters for decision; and it is also used to designate a statute or constitutional amendment securing this right.

In Switzerland, during the greater portion of the last fifty years, the Referendum has been a part of the constitutional law of the republic. When a law is passed, if a certain per cent. of the

voters, say five, eight or ten per cent., within sixty or ninety days of the passage of the law petition that the people have the right to pass on the measure, the enactment is held in abeyance until the electorate has voted on the question.

Q. Is the Referendum un-American?

A. The Referendum is not un-American unless the principle of majority-rule or rule by the people is un-American. It is majority-rule that is important, and whatever means prove necessary to secure it must be adopted.

So far from being un-American, the Referendum is most emphatically American both in principle and practice. From the earliest days of our colonial government in New England the people not only voted directly on specific measures but practically all the laws were made by direct vote of the citizens. This practice has continued in unbroken succession so far as local or town government is concerned, but city and state government has lost its original character. As the growth of numbers made it necessary to rely more and more on representatives, the direct vote of the

*The term Direct-Legislation is here employed in reference to the Initiative and Referendum, because it is the phrase most generally used in referring to these successful methods of maintaining democratic government which are employed in Switzerland and in this country also to a considerable extent. A more accurate descriptive term is guarded representative government. This is really the best name for the system as it exists in Switzerland and as it is proposed for general adoption here. It is the representative system guarded by the people's veto or Referendum and the people's right to propose a law, which is the Initiative. By such means, and only by such means can the people's sovereignty be assured and the representative system properly guarded. It is a thoroughly practical and simple method or provision for preventing popular government from becoming a possible

despotism under the form of a republic, wherein the public servants assume the rôle of rulers, as was the case in the Republic of Venice under the Council of Ten and later under the Three Inquisitors of State; or a despotism of wealth and privileged interests, as was the case in Florence under the di Medici, when that great family of bankers, to use the language of Professor Vallari of the Royal Institute of Florence, became the absolute rulers "of a republic that was keenly jealous of its liberties, without holding any fixed office, without suppressing any previous form of government." Guarded representative government is an evolution from the less perfect system and tends to an ideal civilization in which the people of great cities, states and nations become the sovereign power and act through representative government.

people was lost, because no one thought of any way in which it could be retained. But now that we have a plan whereby the direct vote can be taken without an assembly of the people, it is possible to go back to the original American system of actual popular sovereignty.

From the standpoint of principle, no government is American unless it is a government by and for the people; and no government can be a government by and for the people where the will of a small body of so-called representatives can override or disregard the will of the people. Therefore, no government can be American without the Referendum by vote in assembly or by vote at the polls, as the circumstances may require.

The town of Brookline, Massachusetts, has been for two hundred years under the town-meeting. It has an uninterrupted history of clean government from the beginning. The town has now about twenty-four thousand inhabitants. It is the richest town in the world and the best-governed municipality in New England.

Q. Is the New England town-meeting adapted to city government?

A. No, it is not. The large number of voters in the city precludes direct action in assembly, and for that very reason it is necessary to adopt the Referendum in order that the voters in the cities may have the same right as the voters of a town to direct and definite expression of their will in regard to any specific measure in relation to which they choose to act.

Q. Has it been successfully applied in government other than that of towns and cities?

A. The Referendum has been successfully applied in making and amending our state constitutions in every state of the Union but one; has been recently adopted in respect to legislative enactments in four states; and in Switzerland for many years, both in the cantons and in the republic or the national government, the Referendum has been in active operation, with the result that the gov-

ernment has been administered in the interests of the people. No corrupt lobbies or privileged interests have been able to thwart the will of the people or to oppress and plunder the citizens, as do the trusts and the public-service companies with us. The success of the Referendum has been so pronounced that there is no serious opposition to it in the republic. It, with the Initiative, has kept the government in the hands of the people.

In addition it has been used and extensively used by the trades-unions, with memberships running into the hundreds of thousands and scattered all over the country, and it has been very successful there. Some trades-unions use this as the sole method of administering their affairs.

Q. Has it proved confusing or difficult of employment in the cantons and the republic of Switzerland?

A. No, the Referendum has not proved confusing or difficult, but has had precisely the contrary effect. It has produced a great simplification of politics and elections by separating men and measures and permitting a direct expression upon each measure by itself disentangled from all personal and party considerations and free from all questions of policy in respect to other measures.

It has produced a great simplification of the Swiss laws. Because these laws must be understood by the people they are short, simple and easily understood, whereas ours are complex, lengthy, ambiguous and hard to understand, and we have to employ an enormous number of lawyers, judges and officials to tell us what the laws mean, and they do not always know.

Q. Has it made frequent elections necessary, thus greatly increasing the cost?

A. Instead of making elections more frequent and thus increasing taxation, the experience of the Swiss is the reverse. It is not worth while for politicians to attempt to squander the people's resources or for private interests to bribe them to do so when the people have it in

their power, upon petition of a small minority, to submit any measure passed by a legislature to a direct vote of the people and veto it if a majority so votes. This removes from the legislators the temptation to corruption.

The Governor of South Dakota, a year or two after the constitutional Direct-Legislation amendment went into effect, said: "Since this Referendum law went into effect we have had no charter-mongers or railway speculators, no wild-cat schemes submitted to our legislature. Formerly our time was occupied by speculative schemes of one kind or another, but since the Referendum has been made a part of the constitution these people do not press their schemes, and hence there is no necessity for having recourse to the Referendum."

Q. Does it take from the people's representatives any just rights that belong to them, or in any way limit their legitimate exercise of power?

A. The Referendum takes from the people's representatives no power that justly belongs to them. The legislators are the agents and servants of the people, not their masters. No true representative has a right or a desire to do anything his principal does not wish to have done, or to refuse to do anything his principal desires to have done. The Referendum merely prevents the representatives from becoming mis-representatives by doing, through ignorance or dereliction, what the people do not want, or neglecting to do what the people do want.

A legislative body may depart from the people's will because it does not know what the people's will is, or because the pressure of private or personal interest, contrary to the public interest, overcomes the legislators' allegiance to the people's will. In either case the Referendum is the remedy and the only complete remedy; the only means whereby real government by the people may be made continuous and effective.

Q. Does it destroy "all the safeguards of debate and discussion, of deliberate

action, of amendment or compromise"?

A. No. The advantages of the present legislative system,—its compactness, experience, power of work, etc., are retained with the Referendum, but the evils of the present system,—its haste, complexity, corruption and violations of the will of the people, are eliminated.

Under the Referendum the city or state has its body of legal experts, trained advisers, and experienced legislators, of course, and they continue to do most of the law-making, but their power to do wrong or stop progress, their power to do as they please in spite of the people is removed. The state that adopts the Referendum has the *service* of its legislators, without being subject to their *mastership*. If the representatives act as the people wish, their action is not disturbed. If they act against the people's wish, the people have a prompt and effective veto by which they can stop a departure from their will before any damage is done. This is a much-needed safeguard of popular institutions.

The Referendum raises the legislators to their old position of councillors or advisers to the people and places them above suspicion, because they cannot sell out. It also gives them an independence they do not now have.

Q. Would it promote "legislative anarchy"?

A. No, but it would defeat the "legislative anarchy" now produced by the pressure of corporate interests upon the people's legislative bodies. The real anarchists are not the people, but those who seek by fraud and corruption to defeat the will of the people.

Q. Under its employment might we, as a United States Senator recently asserted, "easily find ourselves in a position where the mob of a single large city would dominate legislation, and laws would be thrust upon us ruinous to the state itself and to the best interests of the entire people of the state"?

A. No, unless the majority of the people constitute such a mob. If the mass

of the people were unfit for free government, the Referendum or any form of government that would give effect to the people's will would be a mistake—the time for a republic or democracy in that community would not yet have arrived. If, however, we are right in establishing free institutions in this country and adopting government by the people as the foundation of our political structure, then let us have real government by the people and not a sham republic; representatives held in effective obedience to the people's will, and not simply the periodic selection of a new set of masters.

Q. Would legislators be expected to oppose the Referendum?

A. No reason exists why any honest legislator should oppose it. But legislators who put the interest of corporations or other private interest above the public interest might naturally be expected to oppose the Referendum.

A certain class of legislators naturally oppose the Referendum because it diminishes their personal power and their ability to accomplish any private or corporate purpose which might be more or less questionable from the standpoint of public interest.

All legislators who have been corrupted or who desire to be corrupted by public-service corporations and privileged wealth will oppose the Referendum. All legislators who are looking for graft and who are ready to sell out or betray their constituents will oppose the Referendum, for it takes from them the power to effectively rob the people and sacrifice the interests of the public for private gain or the power and place that corrupt wealth is ever ready to aid its own tools in securing. These false or mis-representatives of the people and persons who do not believe in a popular or truly democratic government are opposed to the Referendum.

Q. Why do enlightened and public-spirited legislators of all parties favor the Referendum?

A. Enlightened and public-spirited legislators, without regard to party, favor

the Referendum because they know it will place the heel of public interest upon the neck of private graft.

The best class of legislators everywhere favor the Referendum without regard to party, because they believe the people's will should govern, and even on personal grounds, they have no objection to it, because they know that the power it takes from them is an unjust power, and that the new dignity and consideration it confers on able and honest representatives, as the people's legislative experts and broad-minded statesmen free from all suspicion of corrupt or private motive, is worth far more than the loss of consideration of corporate and private interests that may be adversely affected by the Referendum.

Q. Is the Referendum democratic in theory, fact and spirit, or "subversive of and inimical to popular government," as affirmed by some of those who oppose the Referendum?

A. No, it is government by final vote of so-called representatives, without the check of the Referendum, that is subversive of and inimical to popular government. Since democracy means the rule of the people by themselves, nothing can be more democratic than that measure which would give the people an opportunity to speak directly and legislate directly whenever they cared to do so.

The Referendum is the soul of democratic government and of popular sovereignty.

Not only is the Referendum ideally democratic, but it is the most formidable weapon at the command of the people to prevent the overthrow of democratic government by political machines controlled by privileged wealth.

The Referendum is democratic in fact and spirit because it reënthrones the people themselves in the exercise of a power that was always theirs, with which they ought never to have parted—the power to pass direct judgment upon any given proposition, legislative act or measure. Such a power in the people them-

selves, exercised to promote the interests of the mass and to destroy the special privileges and private monopolies of the classes, can never be subversive of or inimical to popular government. The Referendum is the very quintessence of popular government.

Q. Why was not the Referendum more generally employed during the early days of our government?

A. It was generally used in the early days. In fact it was for a long time the only form of government in use among our Puritan fathers. The legislative function was exercised by the whole body of enfranchised citizens. All laws were either adopted by direct vote or were subject to veto by direct vote. Later, when representative government was established, there was no powerful privileged class seeking to maintain and increase its special privileges. Hence our fathers did not appreciate the peril of privilege or class aggression that might arise and in time subvert and virtually defeat the ends of popular rule. Industry was not so organized in the early days as to afford any such opportunities as exist to-day for robbing the people by means of unjust legislation, and the incentive for the corruption of legislators by private interests was only a fraction of what it is now. Changed conditions now call for changes in methods of government which will best preserve the vital essence of democratic rule.

Switzerland was the first free government to realize that the maintenance of free institutions depended on guarding representative government from the encroachments of class interests or privilege. Her statesmen therefore framed ideal measures in the Initiative and Referendum by which the government has been kept in the hands of the people and through which the great temptations that assail the unprotected legislator have been removed by the people reserving the right to refuse to be robbed or be-

trayed by corrupted or false servants.

Q. Why is it imperatively demanded to-day?

A. The Referendum is imperatively demanded because there has arisen in our midst in recent years a powerful plutocracy composed of the great public-service magnates, the trust chieftains and other princes of privilege who have succeeded in placing in positions of leadership political bosses that are susceptible to the influence of corrupt wealth. These men direct the political machine whose manipulators are liberally supplied with the ill-gotten wealth furnished by privileged interests for future favors and for protection against legislation that might be enacted in the interests of the people. Through this unholy alliance of corporate wealth with political bosses and money-controlled machines, incorruptible legislators and officials are driven into retirement and their places filled with creatures beholden to corporate wealth and monopoly interests. In this manner the government has become largely a government of privileged wealth, for privileged interests, by the lawlessness of the privileged ones and their tools, with the result that the people are continually exploited and corruption is steadily spreading throughout all the ramifications of political life. Against these evils the Referendum is a powerful weapon. It brings the government back to the people, destroying corruption and the mastership of the many by the few.

The Referendum is the surest and swiftest method of checking the aggressions of the great corporate interests that have captured our legislative bodies, from city council to national Congress. It is the fundamental reform before the American people. It is the doorway of progress, the great hope of democracy and good government, the doom of the boss and the machine and of the corporations that want government by the few instead of by the people.

MEN AND MOVEMENTS THAT ARE MAKING FOR PROGRESS.

Hon. Frederic C. Howe, Whose Recent Work, "The City The Hope of Democracy," is The Most Notable and Fundamental Work on Municipal Government of The Year.

HON. FREDERIC C. HOWE, whose work, *The City the Hope of Democracy*, is the subject of our book-study this month, is one of a group of fundamental thinkers and incorruptible statesmen and publicists who are the chief dependence of free institutions. They are happily coming to the front on every hand, springing into the breach, as it were, in the hour of democracy's supreme peril.

When Mr. Tom L. Johnson was elected Mayor of Cleveland, Mr. Howe was one of the strongest and ablest Republicans members of the city government. Cleveland's new mayor explained his reasons for advocating the reduction of car-fares, the ultimate acquisition of the street-railway service and other public utilities by the city, and also his reasons for other reforms which antagonized privileged interests but which would make for the happiness and prosperity of the citizens and the purity and efficiency of the municipal government. The reasons advanced, though running directly counter to many views which he had previously entertained, impressed Mr. Howe as worthy of serious consideration and investigation. The more he considered the question, the more he became satisfied that they would unquestionably tend to benefit and advance the interests of the people though they would arouse the relentless opposition of the almost invincible public-service corporations that were coining millions of dollars that should have gone to the city—corporations that were corrupting civic life in order to perpetuate their hold on the wealth and the rights of the people.

To throw his influence in with the Mayor would inevitably excite the bitter opposition on the part of the machine organization of his own party and the great privileged interests. Moreover, Mr. Howe had unconsciously, as have millions of American citizens, become imbued with the reactionary distrust of democracy which the great corporations and

privileged interests have so industriously fostered for many years. But he was before all else an intellectually honest man, clear of vision and under the noble idealism that marks the higher order of minds. He was a fundamental thinker—a man not afraid and not too lazy to think seriously and earnestly in order that he might arrive at the bed-rock truths. So he set to work to exhaustively investigate the questions involved, and the more deeply he studied the situation the more clearly he saw how pitifully superficial and essentially false had been the explanations accounting for the prevalence of corruption and graft and for the failure of free government in our cities, which interested parties had advanced and which had been taken up and echoed by multitudes of well-meaning people. Clearly the tap-root of corruption lay, not in the people, but in the so-called leaders of the business interests who, attracted by the rich prizes of public franchises—veritable gold mines whose output of riches must ever increase—became the sustainers when not the creators of corrupt bosses and who furnished the campaign-funds to make invincible the controlled machines through which politics was reduced to a system in which the minions and servants of privilege were everywhere placed on guard to render possible the betrayal of the interests of the great people whom they were supposed faithfully to serve.

The more Mr. Howe investigated the great problems of the city, the more he found that instead of democracy being at fault, the failure and the corruption were due to privileged and class interests that were polluting the fountain-head of free government. Then for the first time he realized the profound significance of the truth of De Tocqueville's utterance, that "the cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy."

In tracing the evolution that marks his political life after he began to search for the foundation secrets of corruption in public life and the shortcomings of American municipal government, Mr. Howe says:

"Starting with the conviction that our evils were traceable to personal causes, to the ab-

sence of educational or property qualifications in our suffrage; to the activity of the spoilsman and the saloon-keeper in alliance with the foreign voter; to the indifference of our best citizens to politics because it was politics, I have been forced by experience to a changed point-of-view, to a belief that democracy has not failed by its own inherent weakness so much as by virtue of the privileged interests which have taken possession of our institutions for their own enrichment. From a belief in a business man's government I have come to a belief in a people's government; from a conviction that we had too much democracy I have come to the conviction that we have too little democracy; from a study of history I have been forced to the realization that the progress of civilization has been a constant struggle of liberty against privilege; that wherever privilege has been dominant liberty has passed away and national life has decayed, and that our democratic forms are no more immune from the same dominion than were the nations of antiquity or of modern Europe. It is privilege of an industrial rather than a personal sort that has given birth to the boss, created the machine, and made of the party an agency for the control of our cities, states, and nation, rather than for the advancement of political ideals."

When the question of good government and the people's interests as advocated by Mayor Johnson came up for vote, Councilman Howe did not hesitate to vote for the interests of the city, in spite of the boss and the machine. He knew he thereby jeopardized his political life, but a man of his character never places self-interest above civic duty.

When the time came for nominating a Democrat to run in Mr. Howe's district, the leaders asked Mayor Johnson whom he would suggest they should nominate.

"Why, Councilman Howe," quickly replied the Mayor.

"No, he is a Republican," replied the Democrats.

"He is a good enough Democrat for me," replied the Mayor. "He has faithfully stood by the interests of the people against the grafters and the plundering franchise-interests and against the power of his party-boss and machine. A man who can do that is to be trusted. Nominate Mr. Howe, and let the Republicans ratify the nomination if they wish

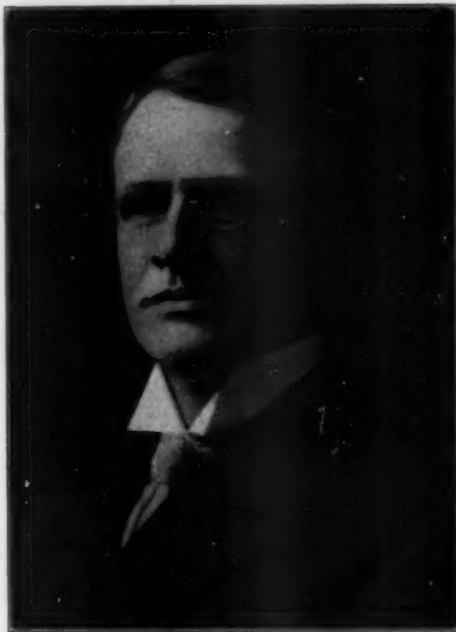


Photo. by Moore, Cleveland, Ohio.

HON. FREDERIC C. HOWE.

a clean, able and fearless friend of the city in office."

But the Republicans did not nominate him. They selected a man on whom the machine could depend.

Mr. Howe was reflected and has steadily gained in the confidence and love of the people.

Last autumn, when the people of Ohio joined in the revolt of the decent and honest element in various boss-ridden and corruption-controlled states and brought about a revolution against the bondage and degradation of the new unrepublican feudalism of wealth dominated by the boss and the money-controlled machine, Mr. Howe was triumphantly elected to the Ohio State Senate, where he is to-day one of the strongest and clearest-visioned leaders of the anti-graft and progressive forces that are battling for clean, honest and free government.

"The Two Ambitions": A Striking Piece of Relief Work by Frank F. Stone.

A STRIKING and highly suggestive allegorical work in relief has recently been completed by Mr. Frank F. Stone of Los Angeles,

California, a half-tone of which we give in this issue. The sculptor has, we think, been very happy in making the clay tell his story. How well does the sleek, well-fed, self-centered figure represent the egoist who through wealth, the assumption of divine rights, the accident of birth or the sword of force seeks power, prestige and advantage over others! The night of physical force, the assumption of temporal power by religious hierarchies that since the days when the prophets were slain and the Great Nazarene was condemned have constantly striven to gain and exercise a power in the State that was not arrogated for himself or claimed for his disciples by the Founder of Christianity and the further assumption on the part of monarchs and aristocracies of special privileges, are all admirably typified by the sculptor in his striking figure.

And equally felicitous is the type of the noble humanitarian who, thoughtless of self and unwilling to rise alone, has fixed his eyes on the heights to which he is raising his weaker brother who in the depths would sink to the oblivion of night were not such aid accorded.

Here we have epitomized the heart of the great struggle that is now raging throughout the civilized world between the forces of enlightenment, progress and brotherhood and those of imperialism, militarism, clericalism and reaction. The forces of progressive democracy are actuated by the spirit of altruism. To them the Golden Rule is an ideal for the rule of life. Peace, fraternity, liberty and justice are words of living fire—words that symbolize the soul of the incoming age. They have seen the vision and can never be seduced or won over to that which is sordid, low or unworthy of the best in man; while the dominating influence in the forces of reaction is egoism—conscious or unconscious distrust in the divine resident in man, born of infidelity to the vision that comes to every soul—egoism that has allowed lust for power, lust for gold and lust of the flesh to dim the moral vision and destroy all sense of ethical or spiritual proportion. Wherever we find egoism triumphant we find intolerance, dogmatism and the spirit of persecution in religion, while in business and political life we find a savage determination to crush opposition, by force if necessary or by crafty efforts to gain by indirection, corruption and graft where these things offer victory. All thought of the sacred

rights of others,—the happiness, prosperity and unfoldment of the millions—is subordinated to what others think they should believe or to the selfish ends aimed at by those who through force or craft seek for vantage.

Prime-Minister Seddon: The Nestor of Practical Governmental Fraternity.

THE HON. RICHARD SEDDON is without question one of the most commanding figures among the statesmen of the present. He is, we think, fully entitled to rank among the foremost constructive statesmen of the democratic age. True, he did not inaugurate the policy which he has so ably and effectively developed, but he has carried his people steadily forward along the lines of progressive democracy as has no other statesman within a hundred years. His ideal has been justice for all the people and the making of a commonwealth where there shall be no uninvited poverty on the one hand and no unearned fortunes on the other. His faith in the people has been as pronounced as has been his readiness to give ear to any plan for increasing the prosperity and happiness of the masses. "If you trust the people and do that which is just and right, you need have no fear," he declares, and the recent overwhelming victory won for his government is the popular verdict in reply to his claim.

No statesman of modern times in a responsible position has achieved anything like so much for the wealth-creators or the masses as has Mr. Seddon. Under the Liberal government of New Zealand land for settlement laws have been supplemented by the building of homes for workers and the selling of them on terms to encourage home-building. Conciliation or arbitration laws have abolished strikes and lock-outs and thus saved to the workers vast sums while removing from the people the hitherto ever-present menace which strikes and lock-outs involve and the enormous burden of increased cost incidental to these war measures between labor and capital. Factory legislation favorable to the toilers, old-age pensions, workers' compensation, employers' liabilities, wage protection and provisions for the higher education of the children of the people are only a few of the radical measures carried into successful operation under the Liberal government of New Zealand, looking toward increasing the happiness, security, prosperity and development



Frank F. Stone, Sculp.

"THE TWO AMBITIONS."

of the wealth-creators. Then the general provision for marketing the products of labor and the operation of the railways and all public utilities in the interests of all the people are other typical examples of what a twentieth-century civilized government can successfully carry forward when the welfare of all the people is not subordinated to the rapacity and greed of a privileged few.

Mr. Seddon has also gone further than any other statesman in his efforts to protect the helpless ones of the nation. His old-age pension laws have been supplemented by state nursing homes and other provisions for the protection and help of those needing the support of wisdom and love embodied in the State.

With the Prime Minister's imperialistic and protection views we confess we have no sympathy, but we rejoice to note that since the recent election he has signified the intention of the government to reduce duties on the necessities of life.

Democracy in Education; or, The School City in Practical Operation.

OUR RECENT sketch of the life and work of Wilson L. Gill, the originator of the School City, has been widely noticed. This and the extended descriptions of the School City which appeared in preceding issues of THE ARENA have awakened such widespread interest on the part of our readers that we are assured that the following graphic pen-picture of a metropolitan School City, taken from the New York *World* of Sunday, March 25th, will be read with the keenest interest by our friends.

In passing we would say that the School City movement is spreading rapidly and its success is as pronounced as it is astonishing to skeptics, wherever the schools are well organized and the teachers enter into the work with intelligence and enthusiasm. Of course there are many cases where persons who are ill-fitted for teaching and who take little joy in their work fail to grasp the tremendous importance of this work, either as a factor in the development of the character of the young or its significance for democracy, and in such instances schools have sometimes failed.

Mr. Bernard Cronson, the principal of the successful School City in New York City which is described below, speaks of several failures in that city, but Mr. Gill assures us that success has uniformly attended the School Cities

where they are well organized and where the teachers take the interest in the City that the potential value of the work warrants. And this is also the testimony of Mr. Ralph Albertson, Secretary of the National School City League and organizer for the State of Massachusetts. Mr. Albertson informs us that he is devoting all his spare time to the organization of School Cities, and the results are most gratifying to teachers, scholars and the great cause.

The chief drawback in pushing the work forward is the lack of funds at the command of the League for the expenses of the organization.*

The following story taken from the *World* gives a fascinating pen-picture of what any one may see any week in the school described, and not only here. With slight variations the same spectacle may be witnessed in scores upon scores of similar School Cities that testify to the superiority, excellence and the practicability of self-government for the young or democracy in education.

"Children running their own school, rounding up truants, trying and punishing offenders, enforcing discipline and clean hands and shoes, leaving to their teachers only the actual work of teaching, is the unique spectacle to be seen at Public School No. 125, in Wooster street, just below Bleeker street. Teachers of other schools smiled incredulously when they heard of the experiment Bernard Cronson, the principal, was about to try, for they knew it was to be done in a district populated by extremely poor foreigners. But their incredulity has vanished, for those who have visited the school have found order and discipline that cannot be matched in any other school in New York.

"Ninety per cent. of the children at this school are Italians, as the names of the officials they elected on February 1st would indicate.

"Mayor, City Attorney, Board of Aldermen and three Judges are elected every three months. The Mayor appoints two chiefs of

*All persons interested in this important movement, which we believe to be the greatest educational advance step introduced since the days of Pestalozzi and Fröbel and an innovation in education that is vital to democracy, should send for literature to Mr. Ralph Albertson, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

police—one boy and one girl—who select their deputies; a Health Commissioner, who appoints his deputies. The Judges appoint a clerk of the court, and the Aldermen elect a President of the board.

"The other day a lady was pleading with Principal Cronson to use his influence to get a boy out of the Catholic Protectory, and the principal was urging her to let him stay there three months for his own good. The lady, apparently a missionary or settlement worker, seemed unsatisfied, so Mr. Cronson sent for Rocco Montemora, the Chief of Police, and asked him to tell the visitor what he knew of Tony —. Rocco, a bright-eyed, thick-set, rosy-cheeked lad of about thirteen, answered gravely:

"He got in with a tough gang; he would not come to school, but spent his time loafing on corners and stealing."

"Stealing!" cried the visitor.

"Yes, ma'am. He was one of de gang dat broke into —'s saloon and stole a lot of lead and brass pipe. I sent my detectives after him several times, but he would not come to school."

"I think I had better let him stay at the Protectory a while," said the lady, "or he may land in the penitentiary."

"Yes, ma'am," answered Chief Montemora, very gravely.

"The chief of police takes his position seriously; it is no play for him; he goes out into the streets and arrests boys who ought to be at school and are not; if they refuse to come in he reports them, and they are sent to the truant school.

"He and his aides catch boys smoking cigarettes and arrest them for that.

"They stop street-fights and have the fighters punished—not by the courts, not even by their teachers, but by the school court, of which three little girls are judges. This court is the most striking feature of the School City, for its decisions are obeyed without question, though the prisoners are often great hulking bullies, and the judges are only three winsome little girls.

"The most important personage in the school is Giacomo Casale, the Mayor, a tall, intelligent, but quiet youth of about sixteen. . . . It is he who calls the school together and manages the morning assembly and the afternoon dismissal. At these important gatherings not a teacher is in sight except the young

woman at the piano, and she has her back turned to the pupils and acts under the direction of the Mayor. The children assemble in their class-rooms under the direction of their class presidents, and at the sound of the bell (rung at a word from the Mayor), march to their places in the assembly-room. The Mayor stands facing them; the police, boys and girls, at their appointed places. It is the duty of the police to see that the lines and files are in perfect alignment, and that there is no disorder. A ring of the Mayor's bell and all are seated. Another ring and every hand is placed upon the desks, while the health squad passes up and down the lines examining hands and faces. Then follows an inspection of shoes. Dirt is reported to the court, not to the teachers. All this takes only a few minutes, and at 9 o'clock sharp the Mayor turns to the teacher at the piano and gives her the word. She strikes a chord, at which the school rises like one person. Another chord, all bow; boys on the right to girls on the left, and vice versa. The opening hymn follows, sung with a dash and volume that proves not only excellence in musical training but actual enthusiasm on the part of the children. However, 90 per cent. of them are Italians, so the singing ought to be good.

"The Mayor motions to the teacher again and she begins the march that sends all to their class-rooms, walking with a military step and bearing that has nothing of stiffness in it, but is perfect in precision.

"In the class-rooms the work goes on as if by machinery. One morning last week Principal Cronson pointed out two rooms in which there were no teachers. Entering unannounced the visitor found a room full of small girls, silent, absorbed in their work, while at the teacher's desk was one of the pupils correcting exercises. The principal entered a minute later and asked the little teacher how the children had behaved themselves that morning.

"Not quite so well as they might have done, sir," she replied, "and I am afraid I shall have to report one or two of them."

"The other teacherless room was full of boys and equally intent upon their work and equally well behaved.

"At 3 o'clock court opened in the assembly-room. Only the officials of the city school and two members of each class were present

when the three judges took their places behind the desk that serves as a bench. What a pretty court it was! In the center sat the presiding justice, Victoria Raffo, a bright, intelligent girl of about fifteen; on her right was Adelio Celio, as perfect a specimen of girlish beauty as ever was seen, with the profile of a Greek Goddess, an oval, refined face, thin, but ideally-shaped lips, lustrous brown eyes and a complexion of rose-buds and snow. The bench was completed by Jennie Terrelli, the other associate justice, as bright a face as you ever saw, with a pair of snapping brown eyes and a merry smile about her lips. These three girls had been elected judges by the votes of the school-fellows and—be it said in honor of the gallantry of these sons of the Latins—the boys are in a majority and it was their votes that filled the bench with girls.

"At the feet of the judges sat the clerk of the court, Dorothy Buchner, a dainty little Jewess and one of the few children in the school who are not of Italian parentage. At her side stood the tall City Attorney, Joseph Pepe, a pale, intelligent youth, with his briefs and notes ready in his hand. Before them upon the benches sat witnesses, prisoners and spectators.

"Hear ye! Hear ye! All those persons who have any business in this court draw near and be heard."

"The City Attorney called the first case, that of Carlo —, who was charged with playing hookey. That was not the term used in the indictment, 'truancy' was the term, but they mean the same thing.

"A sad-faced boy shambled forward, looking guilty, but pleading the reverse. The chief of police testified that he had reported the delinquent and sent Policeman Ferrari after him. Ferrari, a small but bright boy of about twelve, said he had found Carlo in Sullivan street playing, had told him to come to school and Carlo had refused.

"What have you to say about it?" asked the presiding justice of the shamefaced prisoner.

"Me mudder sent me to de store to buy groceries," replied the prisoner.

"How long were you away from school?"

"A day and a half."

"Did it take you a day and a half to buy the groceries?"

"No, your Honor."

"Are you sure you were not away from school for two days and a half?"

"It was one day and a half."

"I think it was two," answered the little judge sternly. "Ferrari, how many times did you go for Carlo?"

"Twice, your Honor. And I went to his mother, too."

"What did she say?"

"She said he was out playing."

"Carlo, who kept you away from school?"

"Nobody."

"Did n't your mother send you to school?"

"When they came for me."

"The three judges' pretty curly heads came together for a whispered consultation, after which Presiding Justice Victoria Raffo announced:

"Carlo, we find you guilty and sentence you to go to the late room class for one week."

"Carlo grinned as he turned away. Justice Jennie Terrelli, fire in her big brown eyes, called him back.

"Carlo," she said sharply, "you will go to the late room for an extra week for contempt of court."

"The grin on Carlo's face vanished and it was a solemn boy that marched away from court.

"The next prisoner pleaded guilty to laughing in school and was informed that as it was his third offense he must go to the late room for three days.

"Harry Bernstein got one day in the late room for disorderly conduct in the assembly-room and Ruggiero, for the same crime, second offense, got two days.

"The next case was a serious one, a lad being charged with getting up a gang to help him fight another boy. 'He slugged me,' said a witness, when bang went the presiding justice's gavel, and she cut him short with:

"The Court insists that proper language be used, and no slang."

"It developed that several other members of the gang were in the room, so the two chief offenders were sentenced to a week in the late room and two days in the ungraded room, while the Chief of Police was instructed to look into the connection of the other boys with the disturbance, and their case was adjourned for a day.

"The calendar being exhausted, the presiding justice asked if there were any complaints.

"A tall fellow (president of his class), came forward and complained that Sicatello and

other boys had attacked him in the street. Sicutello was brought to the bar.

"Why did you attack him?" asked the presiding justice.

"He was fighting a little fellow, and I told him to stop. He would n't, so I hit him a punch in the jaw and he pulled a blackjack—"

"Bang! Bang! Bang! went the judge's gavel.

"Punch in the jaw?" "Blackjack!" cried the presiding justice. "What words. Use respectful language and tell the Court what a blackjack is."

"There was a titter all over the room.

"Silence!" ordered the presiding justice, angrily. "If there is a repetition of that laughter I will have the court cleared."

"There was no more laughing.

"The boy said a blackjack was an iron or lead bar or ball covered with cord.

"Have you the blackjack with you now?" asked the presiding justice.

"No, your Honor."

"The Chief of Police will take the names of these boys, and investigate the matter," said the judge. "Anything more?"

"A policeman arraigned a boy and charged him with being reported repeatedly for disorderly conduct and the use of improper language.

"The clerk will issue a warrant," said the pretty little Judge.

"That being all, the clerk read solemnly: 'Hear ye! Hear ye! All those,' etc., etc., in the formula familiar to all who have attended court.

"The writer asked the presiding Justice how she was able to enforce her sentences.

"The sentiment of the whole school is be-

hind them," she replied. "It would be impossible for any child to defy the whole school."

"And what is your opinion of your court and its effect upon the school?"

"It has worked wonders," replied the girl, with a bright smile. "The discipline in this school has improved even more than we expected."

"The Mayor, young Giacomo Casale, held a trial last week. A health inspector had proved derelict in the discharge of his duties and the mayor wanted to dismiss him, but the chief of police, health commissioner and other officials of the School City urged upon him that the delinquent lad was entitled to a hearing, so the mayor set a day, heard the charges and let the offender off with a severe reprimand and a warning that a repetition of such neglect would entail his dismissal from office.

"After meeting the city officials the writer said to the Mayor:

"Now, I want to meet your Charlie Murphy."

"Casale laughed: 'There is no such person in our city government. I am my own boss. There is no graft and there are no grafters among us.'

"Do you expect to run for a second term?" (The officials are elected for three months.)

"No," he replied, "I expect to have been graduated by the time the next election comes around."

"How do you like your position?"

"Fine!"

"And you feel you are doing good?"

"You have only to look around the school to see what splendid results we are producing. This is the most orderly school in the city."

POLITICS, THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS.



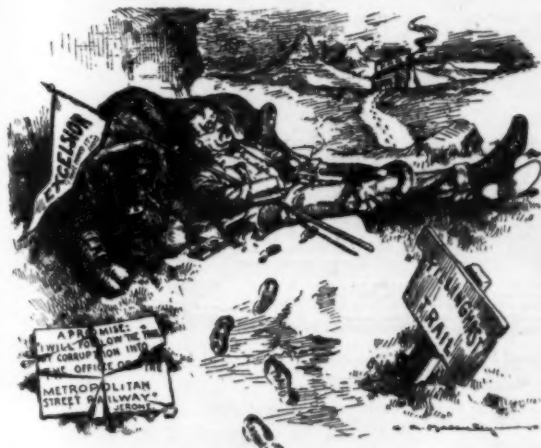
Hiscock, in the New Zealand Graphic.

WHEN NEW ZEALAND'S PREMIER SPEAKS.
Prime-Minister Seddon, as seen by a New Zealand Caricaturist.



Warren, in the Boston Herald.

THREE CORNERED MATCH AND THE ODD MAN STUCK.



Macauley, in the New York World.

"A TRAVELER, BY THE FAITHFUL HOUND."—Longfellow.



Macauley, in the New York World.

"STAND BACK!"



Carter, in the Boston American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

SQUEEZED OUT OF HIM!



Carter, in the Boston American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

GETTING NEARER AND NEARER.



IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

AN AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH WHERE THE PEOPLE REALLY RULE.

Oregon: The Standard-Bearer of Freedom in The New World.

THE STATE of Oregon at the present time presents an inspiring illustration of a great free commonwealth such as would have won the admiration of Jefferson and of Lincoln and which must fill with pride and courage the heart of every lover of free institutions everywhere who believes in democracy as opposed to class-rule; for here we see guarded representative government in full flower. Here we find the realization of the dearest dream of Thomas Jefferson and the fulfilment of the most earnest prayer of Abraham Lincoln—a government of the people, by the people and for the people. Here we find a government where the people have been great enough and wise enough to guard against corruption and the peril of mob-rule by embedding the rule of the people in their constitution.

A Concrete Example of Practical Democracy.

On the fourth of next June the electorate of Oregon will vote on four proposed constitutional amendments and a bill for a law, all of which have been brought forward through the popular initiative. For several weeks the commonwealth has been a vast school in which the electors have been engaged in the serious discussion of great fundamental political questions. In a free government nothing is more important than that the people be constantly kept in intimate touch with their government; that they constantly consider the great issues which will make for the prosperity, the happiness and the development of the commonwealth and her children; and this is one of the beneficent results following from the wise provisions of Direct-Legislation or guarded representative government.

In order to have the proposed amendments and statute submitted to the people, it was necessary to secure 7,500 signatures to each proposed act. In order to secure these sig-

natures the People's Power League of Oregon, a loose organization of high-minded patriots, published and circulated the petitions. They were prepared in the form of rather bulky pamphlets bearing on the outer cover the United States flag in its colors, and a brief digest of the proposed legislation, together with the officers and executive committee of the League and directions to signers and circulators of the petitions. The pamphlet contained, in addition to the blank pages necessary for signatures after each proposed act, a clear, succinct argument showing why the proposed act was demanded. Then, following the prescribed form, came the proposed article or statute to be voted upon.

Inasmuch as there is no question before the American people to-day that is comparable in its importance to free government and the interests of the individual as well as the State, to Direct-Legislation, and because here we see a people exercising their sovereign power calmly, rationally and judicially, we reproduce the general statements with which the pamphlet opens; also the argument, the form of presentation and the wording of the first of the proposed constitutional amendments:

"Arguments and Suggested Amendments to The Constitution of Oregon and an Anti-Pass Law for Public Officers.

"Improvements in the art of self-government are as much the result of experiments as improvements in machine tools. There is only about seventy-five years of experiments by many men between the reaping cradle on the one side and the self-binding reaper and the combined steam-harvester and thresher on the other; between the quill-pen and the modern type-writing machine; between the stage-coach and the hundred-ton locomotive. Similar examples run through all our daily experience with tools.

"The difference between the people's government of Oregon and the Czar's government of Russia is almost wholly the result of

less than 200 years of experiments by many towns, cities and states with new laws, proposed by many different men.

"During the past sixteen years the people of Oregon have tried several very interesting experiments in the art of self-government, including the Australian ballot-law, registration of voters, the initiative and referendum on state laws and in the city of Portland on charter-making, statutory regulation of party primaries and a direct primary nomination law.

"The net result of these experiments is conceded to be better and more satisfactory government.

"ARGUMENT.

"The referendum petition now filed against the appropriation bill for the current expenses of the Insane Asylum, Penitentiary, Reform, Deaf Mute and Blind schools, University, Agricultural College and Normal schools, principally because of objection to the appropriations for so many normal schools, proves the need for this amendment. In this case, appropriations for about eight hundred thousand dollars which are necessary and to which no one objects, are held up for the election because they are included in a bill with other appropriations of about two hundred thousand dollars, to which many people do object. This causes inconvenience and the loss of much money by the state in the payment of interest.

"We have not provided for extending the veto power of the governor to single items of appropriation bills, because it seems unnecessary when the voters can protect themselves as they can if this amendment is adopted, and also because we believe it is unwise to increase the one man power in our government. The adoption of this amendment will give the people power to control salaries of county and district officers.

"To the Honorable F. I. Dunbar, Secretary of State for the State of Oregon:

"We, the undersigned, legal voters of the State of Oregon, respectfully demand that the following proposed amendment to Article IV. of the Constitution of the State of Oregon to be designated in the Constitution as Section 1A of Article IV. of said Constitution, shall be submitted to the legal electors of the State of Oregon for their approval or rejection, at the regular general election to be held on the 4th

day of June, being the first Monday in June, 1906, and each for himself says,

"I have personally signed this petition, and my residence, post-office and voting precinct are correctly written after my name."

"Article IV. of the Constitution of the State of Oregon shall be and hereby is amended by inserting the following section in said Article IV. after Section 1 and before Section 2, and it shall be designated in the Constitution as Section 1A of Article IV.

"Section 1A. The referendum may be demanded by the people against one or more items, sections or parts of any act of the legislative assembly in the same manner in which such power may be exercised against a complete act. The filing of a referendum petition against one or more items, sections or parts of an act shall not delay the remainder of that act from becoming operative.

"The initiative and referendum powers reserved to the people by this Constitution are hereby further reserved to the legal voters of every municipality and district, as to all local, special and municipal legislation, of every character, in or for their respective municipalities and districts. The manner of exercising said powers shall be prescribed by general laws, except that cities and towns may provide for the manner of exercising the initiative and referendum powers as to their municipal legislation. Not more than 10 per cent. of the legal voters may be required to order the referendum, nor more than 15 per cent. to propose any measure, by the initiative, in any city or town."

The other three constitutional amendments relate (1) to the right of the people of any city or town to enact and amend their municipal charters without interference on the part of the legislature; (2) to the matter of selecting the state printer and his compensation—a measure calculated to guard against graft and favoritism; (3) to providing for the submission to the people of any proposed amendment to the constitution after it has passed both branches of the legislative assembly by the vote of a majority of all members elected. (The present provision compels the proposed amendment to be submitted to two legislatures before the people have the opportunity to vote, unless the amendment is secured through the initiative petition.)

The statute proposed for enactment by the people prohibits passes and discrimination

in rates by public-service and business corporations, and makes it a misdemeanor for any officer of the state to accept any favors whatsoever from public-service corporations.

Between eight and nine thousand names of qualified voters were secured to the petitions—a number considerably in excess of the required 7,500.

What The Popular Initiative Has Already Achieved in Oregon.

This is not the first time the popular initiative has been invoked by the citizens of Oregon to further the interests of good government since the state embedded Direct-Legislation in its constitution. In 1904 a carefully drawn direct primary nomination law was submitted to the people as the result of a popular petition signed by more than eight thousand voters. It was triumphantly approved by the electorate. "This law," writes Mr. W. S. U'Ren, Secretary of the People's Power League of Oregon, in a letter just received, "seems to be utterly destroying the political machines." And Mr. U'Ren also states that Direct-Legislation has proved very popular in Oregon. It is favored by all parties and all the great representative bodies of the commonwealth. The bankers, the doctors, the merchants and the lawyers, no less than the farmers, mechanics and laborers are overwhelmingly in favor of this effective measure for guarding representative government. It is recognized as "the corner-stone of a true republican form of government," as was "substantially the decision of our Supreme Court" in its ruling upholding its constitutionality.

The people recognize the wisdom and importance of these provisions for maintaining republican government, by which they can regulate or remove abuses by monopoly and prevent the possibility of the placing on the statute books of laws that favor any class at the expense of the people, or are otherwise inimical to the public weal, such as have so frequently of late been enacted in city and state governments in other commonwealths through corrupt practices.

Some Facts About The Introduction of Guarded Representative Government in This Commonwealth.

Owing to the importance of this question which will more and more engage the attention of all thoughtful friends of free government, and because Oregon has almost ideal

constitutional provisions for guarded representative government, we give a few typical facts relative to its successful introduction.

Direct-Legislation was rightly advocated in a strictly non-partisan manner, because it is a measure that must appeal to the reason and judgment of all persons who believe in the fundamental principles of democracy or free government. Many of the strongest and best citizens of all parties and in all walks of life heartily urged its enactment.

H. W. Scott, the talented editor of the *Daily Oregonian* of Portland, one of the ablest Republican daily papers in the United States and by far the most influential journal in Oregon, said:

"The referendum is an obstacle to too much legislation; to surreptitious legislation; to legislation in particular interests; to partisan machine legislation, and to boss-rule. No predatory measure could be carried before the people. The legislative lobbyist would be put out of business."

Hon. J. N. Teal, president of the Taxpayers' League of Portland and one of the leading lawyers of the Pacific coast, thus expressed his views:

"I favor the adoption of the proposed amendment to the constitution of the State of Oregon, popularly known as the Initiative and Referendum amendment, on many grounds and for many reasons. The fact that this power is reserved in the people will unquestionably have a decided tendency to discourage vicious legislation, for if an act is passed and the people are dissatisfied, by petition they can require its reference to them before it becomes effective, and if they then permit it to go into effect they can have no one but themselves to blame. Moreover, it permits the people to initiate measures, a reform which is an absolute necessity, as all who are familiar with legislative action are aware. It will prevent extravagance, encourage good government, promote home rule, and, above all, will bring home to the people a sense of personal responsibility—the very corner-stone of good government."

Mr. A. L. Mills, vice-president of the Security Savings and Trust Company of Portland, declared himself as follows:

"I heartily favor the Initiative and Referendum amendment to the constitution for many reasons; but, if for no other, because it

will be possible then for cities and towns to make and amend their charters without the consent or interference of any party machine."

And Mr. C. C. Loucks, of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, said:

"The people of Switzerland have succeeded in making laws by the initiative and referendum under which labor and capital live in peace, and I believe we shall be able to do as much under the same system in Oregon."

These extracts are typical of scores of favorable expressions by representative citizens in all callings and walks of life. For ten years

the subject had been agitated, and in 1899 the measure first came up for action in the state legislature. It was carried with but thirteen opposing votes in both houses. The Republican, Democratic and Socialist state conventions favored its submission to the people, and when it came up for the second passing of the legislature in 1901, there was but one opposing vote in the legislature. Then came the submission to the people at the election in June, 1902, when it was approved by a vote of 62,024 in favor to 5,668 against it. Thus over ninety per cent. of the electorate of the commonwealth endorsed Direct-Legislation.

THE MARCH OF MUNICIPAL-OWNERSHIP.

Five Reasons Why We Favor Municipal-Ownership.

PERHAPS no question before the citizens of American municipalities is exciting such general interest from ocean to ocean as public-ownership of public utilities. We have recently received a great number of communications from friends in almost every section of the land, asking for reasons why we favor the people owning and operating the natural monopolies. We have, so far as possible, answered these letters personally, but the increasing number of such inquiries suggests the wisdom of giving in *THE ARENA* a few reasons for advocacy of public-ownership and operation of public utilities. Below we give as briefly as possible, owing to limitation of space, a few reasons which impress us as being of special importance in this connection:

(1) Public-ownership and operation of public utilities would save our cities a vast and ever-increasing volume of wealth more valuable than gold mines, because there is no danger of this wealth diminishing, but, on the other hand, every passing year that adds to a city's population will add to the receipts that will enrich the city, lower the taxes, increase the pay of employes and lower the cost of public service. Under private-ownership all the wealth that should thus contribute to the prosperity and benefit of the city and her people is diverted into the pockets of a few over-rich people. In many instances these people belong to the great New York syndicates of

multi-millionaires. The net earnings of the Boston Elevated Railway Company alone amount to between three and four millions of dollars a year, all of which is diverted from the city to the pockets of a comparatively few persons, many of whom are not even residents of Massachusetts. Against this enormous loss in regard to one of the public utilities, sustained by the citizens of Boston through the readiness of the state and city authorities to listen to the lawyers and the lobbyists of the private service corporations, we place a few typical illustrations of public-ownership in English and American cities.

Manchester, England, owns and operates its street-railway service, and last year, after allowing for interest and depreciation, the municipal-owned service showed an actual profit of \$675,000, while the city has also made concessions to the employes in holidays and shorter hours the cost of which is estimated at \$250,000 a year, and the reduction of fares since the city has taken over the street-railways amounts annually to \$250,000 more. Thus the city and the citizens of Manchester are annually realizing more than a million dollars a year from the municipal-owned street-railway service.

The facts given below are condensed from a recent report by United States Consul Griffiths of Liverpool.

Since public-ownership of the street-railway companies was inaugurated in 1897 in that city the mileage has been doubled; more than three times as many people are now carried as under private-ownership; receipts have

increased almost 90 per cent.; fares have been reduced almost one-half, while the length of rides for a single fare has been increased three-fold; the average speed of the cars has been increased three miles per hour; the tramway employes receive much higher wages than under private operation; over \$2,800,000 has been set aside for a sinking-fund reserve, renewals, etc., while the capital obligation has been reduced over half a million dollars and the city has received for relief of local taxation over \$490,000.

The following facts, relative to the results of municipal lighting in Edinburgh, are condensed from a recent report by United States Consul Fleming of Edinburgh.

When the city a few years since took over the electric-lighting plant the citizens were paying 12 cents per unit for light and 7 cents per unit for power, and the city paid \$97.33 per arc light. Under municipal-ownership the citizens pay 7 cents per unit for light and $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents per unit for power, while the city pays but \$53.53 per arc light, or \$43.80 less than it paid under private-ownership. And notwithstanding these great reductions in cost to the citizens and the city, the city's net revenue on the lighting plant last year amounted to \$578,867, leaving a net profit, after the payment of costs and interest and devoting \$136,018 to a sinking-fund, amounting to \$102,884.

A further illustration of the general favorable results attending municipal-ownership of street-railways in Great Britain is found in the statistics given from the Board of Trade returns at the close of the fiscal year 1904. According to these returns there were 162 tramways under municipal-ownership and operation, and these yielded a net revenue over all operating expenditures of \$9,500,000. The return on the investment made was 8 per cent. There were 1,194,782,762 passengers carried and the average fare paid was 1.1 cents.

Turning from Great Britain to America, we find again the immense value of public-ownership wherever it has been fairly tried. Take, for example, the city of Duluth, Minnesota. When the municipality installed municipal gas-works in 1898 the citizens were paying \$2 per thousand cubic feet for illuminating gas. The city immediately cut the price to \$1.50. Later it was reduced to \$1 and still later to 90 cents. Now it has been reduced to 75 cents,—a clear saving to the people of \$1.25 per thousand feet. So tremendous was the saving and so satisfactory

the result of municipal-ownership of the gas-plant that the electric-light company became alarmed. It had been charging the city \$109.50 per standard arc (of 2,000 c. p., burning all night and every night), but in 1900 it was glad to make a three years' contract with the city at \$70 per arc. The citizens, however, continued to agitate for a public electric plant and the sentiment grew so rapidly that in 1901 the private corporation urged the city to give it a new contract at \$55 per arc, or \$44.50 per arc less than it charged when the city was entirely at the mercy of private lighting companies. And in addition to this, under the new arrangement the private company furnishes one arc to each public park, lights the city hall and furnishes 25 incandescent lights in the police headquarters free of all charge.

The city of Detroit furnishes another striking illustration of the result of municipal-ownership. In 1895 the city installed a municipal electric street-lighting plant, and according to the report of 1905 this plant had already saved the city more than one million dollars. At the time the municipality determined to install its own plant the city was paying \$132 per street arc and its lowest bid on a ten-year contract was \$102. To-day under municipal-ownership the total cost is less than \$60 per arc. This includes interest, depreciation and lost taxes. Labor under the municipal plant receives an eight-hour day and union scale of wages, with full pay and free medical and surgical treatment for those who are injured in the service.

(2) Under public-ownership the service is far better than under private control, for the same outlay. In Great Britain, for example, in every instance where public-ownership has superseded private-ownership the service has been immensely improved, and wherever in England to-day private-ownership still exists the service is inferior to that where the municipalities operate the utilities. The special-pleaders for the private corporations have claimed that in some instances the service in public-operated utilities in England is inferior to the same service in American cities under private control, but such comparisons are manifestly unfair. To arrive at just conclusions comparisons must be made under similar conditions and where the two systems operate side by side; and here, according to so eminent, careful and conscientious an authority as Professor Frank Parsons, the au-

thor of *The City for the People, The Story of New Zealand, The Railways, The Trusts and The People and The Heart of the Railway Question*, municipal-ownership and control results in immensely improving the service while yielding large revenues, reducing cost of service and increasing the pay of laborers. These conclusions were arrived at by Professor Parsons after a careful personal investigation of municipal-ownership throughout Great Britain, and his conclusions are in perfect accord with the reports of various United States consuls in different cities of Great Britain and with the conclusions of other authorities who are not directly or indirectly under the influence or in the service of the privileged interests and public-service corporations.

(3) The favorable results where public-ownership has been fairly tried are such as to leave no doubt as to its utility. This is so obviously the case that public-ownership is steadily spreading wherever once introduced. In England the public-service corporations a few years since made a desperate attempt, through the *London Times*, to mislead the public in regard to this question, but the sophistries advanced were so quickly exposed and the false statements made were so thoroughly refuted that the only result was a rapid spread of municipal-ownership throughout Great Britain. In conservative Germany public-ownership has proved so successful and satisfactory that it is steadily and rapidly spreading. The results in Great Britain and in Germany, as in progressive New Zealand, all clearly establish the fact that under public-ownership and operation all the people enjoy the advantages that enrich the few under private-ownership; that under public-ownership corruption is brought to a minimum, while under private-ownership and operation the corruption of public servants invariably reaches a maximum. Public ownership and operation is sane, practical and imperatively demanded in the interests of sound morality, wise economy and pure democracy.

(4) Public-ownership greatly stimulates a healthy civic life. No fact is more clearly proven than that direct responsibility fosters good government and creates a vital interest in those things in which the people are directly concerned. So long as private corporations own public utilities, they will own the city government in so far as that ownership is vital to the pockets of the public-service magnates;

and this very ownership prevents the best citizens from serving the community, while it interposes the boss and the party-machine between the people and their own government. Eliminate this chief producing cause of corruption in civic life, and the present venal and recreant officials who owe their position to party bosses and the favor of private corporations, will give place to officials who will represent the true interests of the city. There can be no such thing as pure and honest municipal government so long as powerful and corrupt corporations are reaping millions of dollars from the franchises which belong to the people. Eliminate this evil and give the people the responsibility of public-ownership, and we may expect the same results to follow as have followed in New Zealand, in Germany and in Switzerland and in many American cities,—an awakened civic conscience and a marked improvement in the management of all public functions, no less than a much higher standard among public officials.

(5) But above and beyond all other reasons rises that of public morality and civic rectitude. The public-service corporations have been, as has been established by overwhelming evidence, the chief fountain-head and source of corruption in our municipal, state and national life. They have been promoters of graft and the sponsors and protectors of the grafting element in politics. The corrupt boss and the money-controlled machine have derived their almost invincible power from the great campaign funds and other benefits contributed by the public-service corporations; and wherever, so far as we have been able to ascertain, public-ownership of any public utility has seemed to prove a failure, the secret of non-success has been found in the fact that private-corporations operating other public utilities have been strong enough to install and hold in office their minions through vast campaign and corruption funds, thus rendering powerless the rule of the people or the triumph of civic morality. Thus it was with the gas plant in Philadelphia. Had not the street-railway companies, the Pennsylvania Railroad and other public-service corporations been so powerful as to make the corrupt boss and his fraud-perpetuating machine long invincible, the apparent failure of the gas-plant would never have occurred. So long as private parties can reap millions upon millions of dollars annually through monopoly rights in public franchises, government will be cor-

rupted in all its ramifications, the corrupt politicians will be kept in the front, and government will become less and less democratic as it becomes more and more debauched by privileged wealth. This has been the result in the United States in the past and it will continue to be the result until the people destroy the chief source of corruption—the great lure held out to daring and avaricious minds in the monopoly rights in public franchises.

Under public-ownership at times there may be corruption, just as there is corruption in private business management and corruption in public service, but the people are ever quick to punish such corruption when discovered, if there are no protecting powers behind the political malefactors, no powerful privileged interests with the most cunning and unscrupulous lawyers, to aid in protecting the offenders. Witness the conviction of Senator Mitchell and Senator Burton, with no feudalism of wealth behind them. Witness the exemption from punishment or disgrace of other rascals who can rely on the privileged interests and public-service companies to protect them. In the post-office department, when corruption was discovered the guilty parties were punished in spite of all efforts, and the investigation was pushed until it came to the great scandal of the railway extortion in carrying mails—an extortion far greater than the annual deficit of the postal department, but here no thorough investigation was pushed. Why? Because here stood the chief source of national debauchery and political degradation. The great bribe-givers of the nation who with passes, courtesies, free transportation and numerous other forms of bribery, together with the steady pushing forward of their trusted servants in political life and the destruction of their enemies, have become like the Standard Oil trust, so powerful that they are destructive to pure government.

Once let the people own and operate their public franchises and utilities, so that they can deal directly with recreant servants without being thwarted by a strongly entrenched plutocracy based on special privileges, and they will secure good service, or the corrupt and the inefficient will be punished and driven to private life; but so long as so-called public servants are in fact the creatures of public-service corporations and privileged interests, they will be the servants of the interests and the betrayers of the public. The corruptionists will more and more be pushed to the front by corrupt bosses and money-controlled ma-

chines at the behest of public-service companies. The cause of civic morality and democracy imperatively demands public-ownership and operation of public utilities.

Seattle Elects a Municipal-Ownership Mayor.

THE RESULT of the recent municipal election in Seattle, Washington, affords another illustration of the fact that from the Atlantic to the Pacific the people of our American cities and towns are awakening to the vital importance of the people taking over the immensely valuable public utilities, not only that they may reap the benefits of these exhaustless gold-mines whose output will necessarily grow greater and greater with every passing year and which under municipal-ownership will go to lower the cost of the utilities to the people, to increase the pay of employes in the public service and to reduce taxes, but also in order to put a stop to the rapid growth of political corruption arising from private-ownership of public utilities, which will ever increase while private interests, in order to enjoy enormous benefits, find it necessary to control government and thus change the real mastership of the official class from the people to the public-service corporations and their servants who operate the political machines.

Seattle is the leading city in the growing state of Washington. For over fifteen years the water-supply has been owned and successfully operated by the city. Recently the municipality installed a lighting and power plant and last year the people started a movement looking toward the city taking over the street-railway service. Seattle, however, like most American municipalities, was in the grip of a political machine largely dependent upon and operated in the interests of the public-service corporations; so the council, responding to its real masters, pigeonholed the popular petition and refused to submit the question to the citizens. This occasioned a storm of indignant protest on the part of the best element of all parties. Seattle is normally Republican by eight thousand majority, but the subserviency of the officials to corporate interests aroused the best element of the Republican party to a realization of the fact that the interests of the city were being sacrificed to the rapacity of the real masters of the municipal government; so early in January a municipal-ownership party was organized and entered the field.

The Republican machine was strongly entrenched and the corporations controlled all the daily papers; so the traction and other public-service interests were at first little disturbed over the outlook. It soon developed, however, that the city wanted public-ownership, and the masters of the machine became alarmed. Money was poured into the Republican treasury and spent in a lavish manner to stem the tide. Every method known to "the interests" was resorted to to mislead and deceive the people. But happily for civic progress the voters have been deceived so often by selfish privileged interests and their hirelings that they are everywhere coming to recognize the wolf under the lamb's skin.

The Municipal-Ownership party nominated Judge William H. Moore, and after the most exciting campaign in the history of the city—a campaign in which the daily press, the public-service corporations and the Republican machine and administration, backed by vast campaign funds, combined against the Municipal-Ownership ticket, Judge Moore was elected by a majority of 15 votes. It is clear, however, that his majority would have been greatly increased had it not been for the fraudulent votes cast and the criminal tactics resorted to by the machine. Numbers of citizens, when they came to vote, found that others had voted on their names, and indeed the tactics of the Butler Democratic machine of St. Louis, the Tammany Democratic ma-

chine of New York, the Durham Republican machine of Philadelphia, and the Cox Republican machine of Cincinnati seem to have been repeated by the aroused and alarmed machine and municipal administration of Seattle. Thus the victory of Mayor Moore was far more pronounced than appears on the face of the returns.

The council is heavily Republican, but with the recall in the city charter and with an able and alert Municipal-Ownership Mayor and the knowledge that the city is overwhelmingly in favor of Municipal-Ownership, there is, we think, little danger of any particularly offensive corrupt acts or betrayals on the part of the city council, such as have marked so many American municipal governments in recent years.

Extension of Municipal Lighting in a Large Western City.

AT THE recent municipal election in Seattle the people voted to extend the service of the municipal lighting and power plant to the public. The municipal plant has been in operation for over a year, but heretofore it has been operated only for the city. The vote for the extension of its privileges to the citizens was 9,968 for and 1,511 against, or over 8,000 majority, despite the efforts of the public-service interests to defeat the march of municipal-ownership.

DIRECT-LEGISLATION NOTES.

The Triumph of The Recall in Seattle.

ONE OF the most important municipal victories in the interests of good government and popular rule was the adoption at the recent election of an amendment to the city charter of Seattle, Washington, providing for the popular recall. The vote stood 9,312 for the recall and 1,271 against it, or over 8,000 majority for the amendment.

Under this amendment a petition signed by 25 per cent. of the voters will compel any elective officer to face the voters at a special election, and if the verdict is adverse to him he will be relegated to private life.

The right of recall and the referendum and initiative are practical methods for maintaining popular government against the aggres-

sions of the enemies of free institutions who as beneficiaries of privilege are seeking to establish corrupt class-rule under the mantle of democracy or republicanism.

The citizens of Seattle have honored their city, making it one of the pioneer municipalities in the great battle for civic righteousness, pure government and popular rule against the corruptors of government and the friends and beneficiaries of class-rule and privileged wealth.

Governor Folk's Strong Stand for Direct-Legislation.

RECENTLY Governor Folk was interviewed by the St. Louis *Star-Chronicle*, when the reporter asked this question:

"In your opinion, Governor, what is the remedy for needless legislation and 'sand-bagging' measures?"

The chief executive of Missouri replied:

"It is the initiative, the referendum and the recall. If we are to have a government of the people, by the people, the nearer it is brought to the people the better.

"Under the present plan of government an increasingly large number of measures are passed at the biennial session of the legislature. They go through with a rush, especially in the closing hours of the session. It is impossible for the executive to examine these bills with the care their importance deserves. The result is that many measures become laws that should have been vetoed; others that should have become part of the statutes may have fallen beneath the governor's veto.

"The governor's veto is a good corrective for evil legislation, but the most effective is the initiative and the referendum."

On another occasion Governor Folk said:

"If the referendum had been in force there would have been no need of my prosecutions because there would have been no bribery under that system."

It is encouraging to see the intrepid champion of common honesty whom Missouri has wisely placed in the highest office at her command, ranging himself unequivocally on the side of the most important and needed practical reform of the day—that method of procedure that has proved perfectly simple and effective in preserving free government from the aggressions and usurpations of privilege and class-rule.

Practical Democracy as Illustrated in The Government of The Richest Town in The World.

THE RECENT town-meeting in Brookline, Massachusetts, affords another illustration of the practicality of pure democracy in municipal government. Brookline is a town of about 24,000 inhabitants. It has been under the New England town-meeting government for over two hundred years. During that long period there has never been any scandal connected with the government of the town such as disgraces modern city rule, especially since the public-service corporations have become dominant elements in municipal

affairs. This town was one of the first in the state to install a free public library, and later it took the lead, we believe, among all New England municipalities in building and equipping a magnificent public bath for the citizens. At this bath the public school children have the opportunity to be taught swimming, first aids to the drowning, etc., free. Brookline cleans off the sidewalks in winter and waters the streets in summer, and in other ways looks after the comfort and convenience of its citizens as do few if any other towns in New England. The taxes are from three to five dollars per thousand less than those of surrounding towns and cities.

On March 14th the annual town-meeting was held. When the first four articles in the warrant were disposed of, including the election of all officers for the ensuing year, a committee of thirty citizens was appointed to act with the moderator of the meeting, the town clerk and the board of selectmen to consider and report on the remaining eighteen articles in the warrant at an adjourned meeting to be held on the night of the 28th of March. The committee reported in a pamphlet of sixteen pages which was delivered to every voter in the town several days prior to the adjourned meeting. The citizens therefore were fully acquainted with the subjects to be legislated or voted upon and also with the recommendations of the committee and the reasons for their decisions. At this meeting the citizens appropriated \$1,320,517.19. Of this amount \$207,558 was appropriated for the current annual expenses for the public schools. The town also provided for the building of a municipal gymnasium to cost \$100,000, and for the erection of a municipal heating, lighting and power plant to furnish heat, light and power for the manual-training school, the high school, the public baths and the proposed municipal gymnasium.

The meeting was ideally democratic and marked by the spirit of freedom that should be present in all public assemblies where democratic ideals prevail. Most of the suggestions of the committee were adopted. Many of them called forth general discussion and in one notable instance a recommendation was voted down by a narrow vote. It afterwards developed that in the committee of thirty there was an almost equal division on this question.

The town of Brookline is reputed to be the richest town in the world. It is, we believe, the best-governed town in New England and

is a striking example of the practicability of Direct-Legislation or of pure democracy in municipal government.

In large cities, of course, the precise meth-

ods of the town-meeting are impracticable, but here the Initiative, Referendum and Right of Recall will meet all the vitally important demands of an ideally democratic government.

SOME VITALLY-IMPORTANT SUPREME COURT DECISIONS.

The Decision Against The Tobacco and Paper-Trusts.

SINCE the famous somersault of Justice Shiras which killed the income-tax, many momentous supreme court decisions have been decided by the narrow margin of one or two votes, and many of these decisions have been very perplexing to the lay mind,—so perplexing, indeed, that the supreme bench has unquestionably lost much of the old-time popular reverence which attached to this august tribunal of last resort.

Two or three recent decisions, however, have done much to reinstate the bench in popular regard and to check the rapidly growing apprehension on the part of many thoughtful citizens that some members of the court, by virtue of their long having been corporation attorneys, had become unconsciously biased in favor of corporate wealth to such a degree that they were unable to rise above the habits of thought of years and view questions apart from all prejudice.

In the decisions rendered in the tobacco-trust and paper-trust cases the court, by a vote of 7 to 2, denied the contention of the trusts which sought to avoid answering questions that would prove the guilt of the corporation, on the grounds that the testimony would be incriminating. In this decision the court ruled that:

"The right of a person under the Fifth Amendment to refuse to incriminate himself is purely a personal privilege of the witness.

It was never intended to permit him to plead the fact that some other person might be incriminated by his testimony, even though he were the agent of such person. . . .

"The individual may stand upon his rights as a citizen, but the corporation is a creature of the State. It is presumed to be incorporated for the benefit of the public. Its powers are limited by law. It can make no contract not authorized by its charter. Its rights to act as a corporation are only preserved to it so long as it obeys the laws of its creation."

The Decision in Favor of The Citizens in The Chicago Street-Car Controversy.

ANOTHER extremely important recent supreme court ruling relates to the Chicago street-railway controversy. The Illinois legislature several years ago granted a ninety-nine-year lease of life to the street-railway companies, but the city franchises granted for five hundred miles of track have expired, while the two hundred remaining miles of track will expire in 1911 and 1915. The supreme court holds that while the company is entitled to live to the ripe age of ninety-nine years, it cannot operate on the streets of Chicago longer than the city franchises permit, without new franchises being given by Chicago. This decision is of far-reaching importance and is rightly regarded as one of the most significant victories won for the cause of popular government in the warfare being waged between the people and the plutocracy. The supreme court stood 6 to 3 in this decision.

SHADOWS ON OUR BUSINESS AND POLITICAL LIFE.

Exhibitions of Brazen Contempt for Law and Order by Leading Representatives of The Plutocracy and by Officials Complacent to The Great Corporations.

THE REPUBLIC and the world at large has recently beheld two amazing illustrations of contempt for law and the orderly

and prescribed methods of justice on the part of typical representatives of the plutocracy and of officials in active sympathy with the corporations that dominate city and state government.

The flagrant defiance of the Supreme Court of Missouri by H. H. Rogers, which we noticed in a recent issue of *THE ARENA*, and

his insolent remark that it was immaterial to him what the court desired, typify the attitude of the criminal rich since they have come to regard the government as their slave. True, Mr. Rogers has since been forced to confess to facts that he had previously refused to give, but it was only after he had put the people of Missouri to great expense and delayed the operations of the machinery of justice in a manner that would not have been tolerated if the insolent defier of law had been a poor instead of an over-rich man.

Another representative of this precious band was in his automobile when served by an officer of the law with a subpoena. He started up his machine and dragged the process-server some distance, seriously imperiling his life and limb.

Even more offensive, perhaps, than the course pursued by these gentlemen, has been the action of John D. Rockefeller. He has not only been practically a fugitive from the representatives of the law, guiltily hiding for many weeks, but he has surrounded himself with retainers who have offered violence to the representatives of law and justice in their attempts to serve their subpoenas. Later it seems that John D. Rockefeller decided that he would grant an audience to the representative of the Supreme Court of Missouri, provided the representative of the court came humbly to him in private. Never before, we think, has such brazen effrontery and contempt for law been exhibited by a man claiming the protection of the machinery of justice as that described in the following press despatch to the *Boston Herald* published on March 27th:

"NEW YORK, March 26, 1906.—John D. Rockefeller volunteered to-day to testify in the Missouri proceedings against the Standard Oil Company, but attached a condition to the offer which Attorney-General Hadley refused to accept.

"I do n't know anything about the facts you are after," is the substance of Mr. Rockefeller's statement, made through John D. Archbold, a vice-president of the Standard Oil and for many years closely associated with the company's president, 'but if you will meet somewhere in private, I shall be glad to answer any question you may put to me. I refuse, however, to appear in public, where I would be subjected to notoriety and cartooning, and if you want to talk to me, you will have to do it alone.'

"We have only one way of examining witnesses in this proceeding," was Mr. Hadley's prompt reply, and there the incident was closed."

While the Standard Oil crowd was so industriously striving to destroy popular respect for law and order and to convince the American public that the criminal rich are above the law, the officials of Colorado and Idaho, who are in most intimate sympathy with the great corporations of those states, were doing even greater violence to the orderly operation of the machinery of law and justice. Ex-Governor Steunenberg of Idaho had been assassinated and a Pinkerton detective had obtained an alleged confession from a discredited labor man implicating leading officials of the Western Federation of Miners in the murder. The Governor of Colorado was secretly appealed to to extradite the accused men. Instead of having them brought before him and giving them an opportunity to show cause why they should not be extradited, the Governor became a party in the secret conspiracy to spirit the accused out of the state. He granted the requisition. The men were arrested late at night and refused permission to see their friends or even to bid their wives good-bye. When they reached Idaho they were thrown into prison and treated with the greatest indignity. An exchange thus describes the legal outrage perpetrated, which has profoundly aroused hundreds of thousands of American working-men who believe the accused to be the innocent victims of alarmed and lawless corporations and their equally lawless tools:

"When Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were kidnapped into the Idaho penitentiary they were denied even the privileges accorded to convicted murderers. They were placed in solitary confinement, the lights taken from their cells, and not allowed to communicate with their friends or read the newspapers. It was only after remonstrance by attorneys for the defense for several days with the officials of Idaho and publishing the facts in the few papers not controlled by the moneyed powers, that the officials of the prison were compelled to allow them the papers, a little more liberty, a bath and a change of underclothes. Great is the 'Land of the Trust and the Home of the Slave.'"

The Rocky Mountain Daily News of Den-

ver, the greatest and most influential paper of Colorado, in an able editorial discussing the dark-lantern methods of the authorities, said:

"The manner in which the arrests were effected was repugnant to the spirit of the laws and constitution of this state, and the *News* feels that the officials responsible for the proceeding merit the severest censure.

"The *News* has always stood for the orderly administration of law. It has insisted that the ægis of the constitution should protect the poor and helpless as well as the rich and powerful. That is the true interpretation of our scheme of government. Any other theory must inevitably lead to anarchy and its attendant class strife.

"The law should be enforced in an orderly fashion. This was not done in the case under consideration. The Idaho authorities induced Governor McDonald to issue a requisition for the accused before the arrests were made. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were seized by a force composed of members of the state militia, Sheriff Nisbet of this county and his deputies and the officers from Idaho. They were not taken into custody like ordinary criminals. They were set upon in the night, thrown into carriages and hurried to the county jail. They were refused permission to communicate with their friends or counsel. On Saturday night, when representatives of the *News* asked employes of the county jail concerning the arrests, they were assured that the labor leaders were not in custody. Every official approached reiterated the falsehood. Yesterday morning the prisoners, escorted by members of Colorado's state militia, were placed on a special train and hurried out of the state.

"The *News* contends that Messrs. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone should have been treated exactly like any other men accused of a serious crime. They should first have been placed under arrest. Then the Idaho authorities should have presented their requisitions to Governor McDonald and the attorneys for the accused should have been given a hearing. If the chief executive was convinced that the Idaho authorities had evidence which implicated the prisoners in the assassination the requisitions should have been honored. The facts should not have been concealed from the public, and the military arm of the state government should not have been used.

To deprive the accused of the advice of counsel was unpardonable.

"The whole proceeding reminds one of the extraordinary acts of Peabody and Bell, and will subject Governor McDonald and the other officials concerned to the same popular criticism which drove the first-named officials from public life.

"The memory of the lawless reign of Peabody seems like a hideous dream, and Colorado had fondly imagined that the fires of class hatred had been extinguished never to be relighted."

We are not now concerned with the innocence or guilt of the accused. Indeed, we do not wish to confuse the issue we are discussing at the present time by touching upon the merits of the case. What we are now denouncing is the eminently unjust procedure of the officials of Colorado and the inhumanity of the officials of Idaho. If Governor McDonald and his plutocratic backers and friends had believed that Messrs. Moyer, Hayward and Pettibone were guilty and that the government had anything like as strong a case as the deeply interested officials, the corporation chiefs and their hirelings are trying to make the public believe, then there was all the more reason why the government should have scrupulously followed the regular order of procedure. The case should have been argued in Colorado, as it would have been if one of the plutocracy—if a member of the Guggenheim family, for example—had been wanted on a criminal charge by the authorities of another state. The accused should have had all the advantages that would have been accorded to a wealthy citizen similarly accused. They were entitled to nothing less. And then these men when incarcerated in prison were entitled to humane treatment. They were accused of a capital crime, but there had been no trial and no guilt had been established; yet they were treated in a manner that would bring shame and disgrace on any civilized commonwealth for its treatment of any human being, guilty or innocent. Moreover, during all this time the Governor of Idaho has been doing all in his power to prejudice the case and render an impartial trial impossible in the State of Idaho, by repeatedly declaring his belief in the guilt of the accused. The action of the governors of Colorado and Idaho, the officials and the corporation backers and their hirelings in the

press is precisely what would have been the course of persons bent on convicting and conscious of a weak case, and it is precisely the reverse of what should mark official conduct in any case.

We can conceive of nothing so well calculated to bring law and order into public contempt as such exhibitions of lawlessness and contempt for legal forms, order and justice as have been witnessed in the Standard Oil case in New York and in the amazing conduct of the officials of Colorado and Idaho in the Steunenberg case.

An Unsound and Unsafe Secretary of The Treasury.

ALL THOUGHTFUL persons will agree that it is of the utmost importance that the secretary of the treasury be a man not only of unquestioned probity himself, but one free from entangling alliances with privileged wealth, and especially with those banking interests whose master-spirits are known in the commercial world as high financiers or reckless speculators. If the secretary of the treasury be so beholden to any class or to any individuals that when the criminality of some individual or individuals is charged he so far forgets the obligation imposed upon him, he hastily and without any thorough or adequate investigation vouches for the accused and declares that he has not violated any law, when the reverse is true, he is totally unfit to occupy so important a position as that of head of the treasury department.

It will be remembered that when Mr. Bryan was nominated for the presidency in 1896, one of the chief alarmist cries raised by such distinguished patriots for personal revenue as the late John A. McCall, Senator Chauncey M. Depew and other high financiers of Wall street and beneficiaries of corporate wealth who entertained a wholesome fear lest some aggressively honest statesman should be elected president, was that if elected Mr. Bryan would be liable to select for the head of the treasury department some unsafe or unsound man, and the credit of the nation would thereby be imperilled. Yet when the secretary of the treasury is a man not only thoroughly satisfactory to the high financiers, but a person whose recklessness is such that without knowing the facts involved he rushes to the defence of a law-breaker at a time when he of all men, instead of whitewashing or attempt-

ing to whitewash the alleged law-breaker, should have been insisting upon a rigid investigation of the charges, we hear little criticism.

It will be called to mind that shortly after the failure of the Chicago National Bank, grave charges were made against John R. Walsh for violating the national banking law. Then it was that Secretary Shaw rushed headlong to the defense of the accused, volunteering, to use the language of the editor of the *Boston Herald*, "the testimony that not one dollar had been taken from the bank dishonestly. There was nothing in the bank's suspension, in his opinion, that would justify even talk of criminal prosecution. No embezzlement, no theft was suggested, and for every dollar taken out gilt-edged security was pledged." Yet on March 2d Mr. Walsh was arrested on criminal charges after an exhaustive examination of the bank by special bank-examiner A. L. Curry. The warrant charged him with "violation of the national banking laws in making false returns to the comptroller of the currency and also asserts that he converted to his own use without proper authority, funds of the bank amounting to \$3,000,000."

The warrant in its specific charges claims that:

"The said John R. Walsh unlawfully made certain false entries to the effect that at the close of business on the 9th day of November, the amount of loans and discounts of the said banking association on which the officers and directors thereof were then liable either as payer or indorser, was \$245,000, whereas in truth the amount of such loans and discounts was \$3,000,000, and another false entry to the effect that the amount of loans and discounts of the said association of which the officers and directors were not liable as payers of indorsers was \$10,658,226, whereas the amount of such loans and discounts on which officers and directors were not liable was \$7,500,000.

"It is further alleged that John R. Walsh and John M. Smith and William Best, directors, and others unlawfully misapplied the money by converting it to the personal and private use of John R. Walsh without any proper authority whatever."

What confidence can the people place in a secretary of the treasury when to screen and protect a member of the high finance communism of privileged wealth, he thus volun-

tarily appears as his defender and with all the weight of the department that should be acquainted with all the facts involved, gives him a clear bill of health?

It is one of the unfortunate features of President Roosevelt's administration that he has surrounded himself with men whose relations with the privileged interests are of the most intimate character—men who either have been themselves leading representatives and beneficiaries of privilege, or who have for years and years been the hirelings and the special-pleaders of many of the most odious of the great corporate organizations. The disgraceful and humiliating spectacle of the secretary of the treasury rushing into print with his ill-advised and, in the light of the investigations of his own department, inexcusable defense of Mr. Walsh would have been impossible had the treasury been presided over by some great broad-minded statesman whose interests had not long been along the line of special privilege in banking and who had not been tainted by intimate relations and connections with the high financiers who have so discredited and demoralized the commercial affairs of to-day. Like Mr. Root, who since the days when he accepted a brief for Boss Tweed has been constantly, with the exception of the brief periods when he has been in public life, one of the most efficient tools of the great corporate interests of New York—the lackey, so to speak, of men like Ryan—Secretary Shaw is a reactionary whose sympathies are out of alignment with those of the great struggling masses who are rightfully demanding that the same measure of justice be meted out to the rich rogues and law-breakers as is rigorously meted out to poor men who offend in far less measure.

And in this connection it is well to remember who Mr. John R. Walsh is. For years he has been one of the strongest supporters of what is now popularly known as the "system." His paper, the *Chicago Chronicle*, for a time masqueraded as a Democratic journal while upholding high finance, reaction and special privilege. Before the last presidential election, however, Mr. Walsh threw off his mask and joined the Republican procession, shouting for safety and sanity, which too frequently mean protection for grafters. Mr. Walsh was among the most vociferous clamorers for the triumph of the "Grand Old Party" during the last campaign; and such appears to be the community of interest between the head

of the treasury department and the high financiers that the secretary, without vouchsafing anything like a personal or careful examination, vouches for the rectitude of Mr. Walsh and declares that his securities are gilt-edged, only a few weeks before his own department is forced to ask for the arrest of the banker on a warrant making serious criminal charges.

We repeat that no man so reckless of facts and whose interests are with the peculiar kind of financiers of which Mr. Walsh is a type, should be permitted to remain one day in the important position of secretary of the treasury.

Even so conservative and in many respects so reactionary a publication as the *Boston Herald* is alarmed at the reckless spirit exhibited by the secretary, and in an editorial which appeared on March 6th thus pointed out the dangers of having this kind of a safe and sane man at the head of the financial department of the government:

"There is one more point of even greater importance. What the secretary of the treasury holds to be gilt-edged securities may be of great interest to the public. The government is to deposit with the banks some \$10,000,000 of public funds, accepting as security therefor such bonds as the secretary may believe suitable for the purpose, those bonds to be received at 90 per cent. of their face value. That, we presume, calls for gilt-edged security, and the secretary of the treasury is to decide what is gilt-edged. Prior to Secretary Shaw's advent in office the treasury did not deposit funds with banks unless it received national bonds as a pledge. There was surely no risk in loaning public money when public certificates of indebtedness were demanded as collateral for the full amount of the loan. Secretary Shaw placed a new and strained—in our opinion an unjustifiable—interpretation on the law by accepting bonds other than those of the national government as security for such deposits. He appealed to Congress for legislation defining what bonds might be so accepted, and Congress failed to pass the legislation.

"The secretary was not embarrassed by the failure; he has taken the matter into his own hands again. Possibly Secretary Shaw will not hold that those securities which he classed as 'gilt-edged' when held by the Walsh bank had a heavy enough gilding to justify their acceptance as securities for public deposits on which, be it remembered, no interest

is to be paid. The determining of that question is too wide a range of power to give to any member of the administration. . . . Perhaps if the matter was brought before the supreme court, our highest judicial body might not

agree with Secretary Shaw that the words 'by the deposit of United States bonds and otherwise' could be properly construed as meaning 'by the deposit of United States bonds or otherwise.'"

COÖPERATION.

Utilizing Corporation Laws for Co-Operative Progress.

WE HAVE from time to time called the attention of our readers to the excellent work being carried forward in relation to practical coöperation by the Right Relationship League. The work of this organization has progressed steadily and healthily, and we see no reason why it should not soon exert in the Middle Atlantic States an influence even greater than the Rochdale stores and the Coöperative Fruit Exchanges of the Pacific are exerting for the cause of voluntary coöperation.

Just as we are going to press we have received the following excellent article by H. A. Hodge of Ann Arbor, Michigan, relating to the utilization by the League of the corporation legislation that has been enacted in the interests of the few for the spoliation of the many, for the purpose of facilitating the progress of practical coöperation in the New World.

"The Right Relationship League, of which THE ARENA has made frequent mention, held a meeting in Chicago, commencing March 8th. J. B. Smith, Esq., of Madison, Wis., was elected president for the ensuing year and Miss Clara J. Biddle of Chicago, secretary-treasurer. The meeting developed a hopeful and enthusiastic spirit. It was decided to district the country for further organizing work, placing each district under the supervision of an accredited representative.

"In its efforts to found coöperative stores (and this work has been very successful), the League has experimented with the corporation laws of several states. One result has been to show that the corporation, that instrument which has been used so successfully by the commercial pirates of the world in their raids on the earnings and savings of the people, may become an equally valuable instrument in the defense of those earnings and savings. The form of corporation adopt-

ed by the League embraces these features; the ownership by each member of a company of one share of the capital stock and *one share only*, the division of profits on the 'Rochdale' plan and the abolition of proxies. In lieu of proxies, nominations and elections are made by mail. The use of the proportional and preferential ballot, the initiative and referendum, the imperative mandate and the right of recall furnish additional safeguards for the individual.

"Of these special features, that of equal ownership is of most interest. It is made effective by its incorporation in the by-laws and by having those sections of the by-laws printed on each stock certificate.

"The laws and decisions in some of the states may bar the adoption of the equal-ownership plan but in most of the states the tendency is to the view that the members of a corporation may make binding agreements among themselves limiting their ordinary rights of sale and transfer of stock. An additional safeguard would be to have these features embodied in the charter of a company.

"We have now reached a point in economic advance when it is of the utmost importance that attention should be given to constructive, remedial measures. Whatever is attempted must be in harmony with our democratic ideals. We do not need, nor should we encourage the permanent interposition of the dominant rich man in our industrial affairs. The equally-owned corporation, as used in the League work, may not be the only way, nor the best way, to accomplish results, but it is a demonstrated possibility, it is within the reach of all the people and therefore is entitled to consideration.

"In the League plan, the first step is to organize the people as consumers. From the retail company it is an easy step to the organization of a wholesale business. The wholesale business would be more successful if it handled the goods of equally-owned,

coöperative factories. Each step in this process would afford another opportunity for the common man to make a small and safe investment. Even the railroad, which is such a necessary instrument for our national

welfare and at the same time an indispensable factor in the present 'system' of exploitation and oppression, might be owned by the people who use it and whose use of it creates its commercial value."

THE MARCH OF EVENTS IN FOREIGN LANDS.

Europe a Cauldron of Social Unrest.

NOT SINCE 1848, when western Europe was convulsed by revolutionary uprisings, has there been present widespread and profound unrest as is witnessed to-day. On the surface, save in Russia, at the present writing all is calm, yet no student of history can fail to appreciate the gravity of the situation in several lands; and what makes conditions especially ominous for the reactionary powers is the fact that to-day as never before in the history of the world the masses who represent the protest of liberalism and democracy are consciously at one in aims and purposes throughout the civilized world.

In olden times, if one set of tyrants and oppressors was unable to cope with the people goaded to revolt, aid was forthcoming in money or men from brother tyrants who arrogated the right to oppress and tyrannize in other lands. Now, however, the ruling powers realize with dread the momentous fact that within their own realms are hundreds of thousands if not millions of men who would promptly and sternly say "Hards off!" if one government should openly attempt to help rulers coerce the people in another land.

The People as a Peace Dynamo.

To friends of peace the rise in importance and the growing sense of brotherhood and unity which mark the wealth-creators of various European nations are fraught with greater promise than perhaps anything else above the political horizon; for while the reactionaries, rulers and militarists of Christian lands are busily striving to feed the savage passion for war by insistently calling for large and still larger armies and navies and by demanding an extension of military drill and in other ways seeking to center the imagination of civilization on war as something to be expected, instead of arousing the moral sentiments of Christendom in such a way as to render the arbitrement of force impossible, the workers

are quietly preparing to prevent the reactionaries from being able to perpetrate the measureless moral crime of war. An illustration of this quiet but significant work was seen in the recent action of the French National Socialist Council, where the following resolution was voted:

"As soon as secret or public events awaken fear of a conflict between governments and render war possible or probable, the socialist parties of the peoples involved shall immediately, on the invitation of the International Socialist Bureau, enter into direct relations with each other with the purpose of determining what action shall be taken by the workingmen and socialists, in their separate countries and unitedly, in order to prevent war. At the same time the socialist parties of the other countries shall be notified by the secretary of the International Socialist Bureau which shall meet officially, in order to direct the action of the entire International Socialist Party with the view of preventing war."

One thing is well calculated to make people who think for themselves recognize the hollowness and absurdity of much of the alarmist talk and hysteria which is so industriously fostered by the various monarchal, plutocratic and military agencies against the social-democratic movement, and that is the fact that this movement, so vigorously denounced by canting critics who uphold wars of aggression and class interests, is to-day carrying forward the most effective anti-military and peace-promoting campaign in Christendom; while we regret to say many of those who make the loudest protestations in regard to religion are the most perniciously active advocates of the increase of the burden of militarism.

Russia Again The Victim of Incarnate Savagery.

The condition of Russia gives added emphasis to the contention that whatever may

be said of the people of this great empire—and we see no reason to doubt that under the ægis of freedom they would soon lead the civilizations of the world—the bureaucracy and the church are as striking incarnations of savagery and paganism as present history affords.

When the bureaucracy and the Czar were terrorized by the threatening aspects of the revolutionary uprising, they made positive and solemn pledges which, unhappily, a large number of the people took seriously. A large proportion, indeed, of the intellectuals and many of the leading working-men were disposed to place confidence in Count Witte, in spite of the fact that the noblest liberals that were induced to work with him at the outset soon withdrew, because they felt convinced of his insincerity.

No sooner did the government feel that it had power than it began to break faith all along the line. The widely-heralded *duma*, which it was promised should be a law-originating body elected under free conditions, has become a tragic farce. The great majority of the Liberals, who would have proved a power for progress and would have unquestionably won the elections of the people, have been seized, imprisoned or sent to Siberia, so that the overwhelming majority of the men who make up the emasculated *duma* are either reactionaries or persons who are expected to be inoffensive and easily cowed.

In the meantime a reign of official slaughter for political reasons has set in, accompanied by many acts of almost inconceivable brutality. The inhuman bureaucrats are again in the saddle and as a result we may expect a steady pressing forward of reaction and cruel persecutions, until, goaded to desperation, the infuriated people will retaliate with bombs and another era of assassination will be inaugurated. In the next revolutionary outbreak, which we imagine is not far distant, the Russian masses will not be likely to indulge in any temporizing policy. It will be war to the knife on the part of the people. They have learned through terrible experiences the perfidy and savagery of the Czar's government and they may be expected to act accordingly.

Austria-Hungary.

The condition in Austria-Hungary is critical in the extreme. The usurpation of the Emperor Francis Joseph in his rôle as King of

Hungary has driven the nobles to the brink of rebellion, and the only wonder is that war has not ere this been precipitated.

Many persons do not seem to recognize the difference in the position of the Austrian and Hungarian governments in relation to the King-Emperor. The constitutional privileges enjoyed by the Austrians were a concession on the part of the throne to the people, in so far as Austria enjoys constitutional government; but not so with Hungary. The crown was a gift of the nobles to the king, made with certain clearly defined and solemnly agreed to provisions; and these obligations and constitutional safeguards the King has now thrown to the winds, supplementing perfidy with the use of force and despotically oppressing a free people. Small wonder is it that the great Magyar chiefs are enraged or that Hungary is on the verge of a forcible revolution.

Realizing the perilous condition of his tenure as King of Hungary, the Austrian Emperor has felt it necessary to pay some regard to the demands of the Social-Democratic hosts who a few months ago marched silently but bearing ominous banners through the streets of Vienna to the capital, where their demands were presented to the government. It will be remembered that it took six hours for this procession to pass any given point and it was watched by the Emperor from behind closed blinds.

The prospect of extending the suffrage and the liberal provisions of the proposed act, however, has rallied the reactionary interests, under the leadership, it is said, of the Crown Prince; and at this writing nothing is settled either in regard to the serious rupture in Hungary or the fight of the people for the extension of suffrage and the enjoyment of other long-desired rights. It is easy to see, therefore, that a little spark may kindle a revolution and perhaps dismember the empire.

France Under a New Ministry.

The sudden defeat of the Rouvier ministry came as a painful surprise to most lovers of progressive democracy and friends of our sister republic, because it was felt that any disturbance and embarrassment in the government at the time when the general election was pending might be taken advantage of by the clerical and reactionary enemies of the nation to sway public sentiment.

President Fallières, however, displayed rare judgment in selecting M. Sarrien to form

a new cabinet. This statesman appreciated the importance of taking a firm stand for law and order and giving the opposition to understand that while the government had no desire to be harsh or unjust, it would not and could not allow itself to be cowed by the attempt of the reactionaries to prevent the enforcement of the statutes. M. Sarrien's cabinet differs from M. Rouvier's in that it is far more radical and socialistic in character.

At the present writing the dispatches announce that the reactionary Catholic element has determined to enter on a vigorous warfare against the republican administration and that it has drawn to its support the natural allies—the monarchists, the imperialists and the militarists; and at the same time the Socialists have engaged in an unhappy controversy with M. Clemenceau which may easily act unfavorably in weakening the government's support at the elections which will be held before this issue of *THE ARENA* reaches the reader.

What effect these things will have on the republic cannot be foretold, but we believe that the French people will be slow to again yield to the influences that prevailed prior to the Dreyfus trial. Hence in the pending election we predict that our sister republic will be true to the high mandates of liberal and progressive democracy.

England Under The Liberal Ministry.

In England the Liberal ministry has not yet had time to push to a happy conclusion any of the great reforms to which it is pledged. Nothing that has happened since the opening of Parliament has occasioned us more satisfaction or has given us more hope of radical and fundamental economic advance in England than the reception by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Asquith, of the petition of the English municipalities for land value taxation. This petition was signed by 518 municipal councils. Among the leading advocates of the taxation of land values from the deputation that presented the petition were the mayors of Manchester and Glasgow, who strongly insisted on the urgency of early action. They laid special stress on the intense interest which the general body of the people felt in this wise and urgent reform which they believed to be of as great importance as anything before the new ministry. In replying to the addresses the Chancellor of the Exchequer among other things is reported to

have made this very significant and encouraging statement:

"I suppose almost alone in the category of social and fiscal reforms, this is one which meets with practically the unanimous approval without distinction of politics or party, of all the great municipalities. . . . I have always regarded this movement properly understood as being not a derogation from, but an assertion of the rights of property. What are the two principles upon which, as far as I understand it, it is founded? They are very simple. They seem to me to be based upon common-sense and equity. The first is that those who benefit by public improvements, should contribute their fair share of the cost of them. The next is—and I think it is right and just—that the community should reap the benefit of the increased values which are due to its own expenditure and its own growth. These two principles appear to me not to be inconsistent, but are a necessary corollary of the doctrine of the rights of property if equitably applied. . . . I assure you we are in hearty sympathy with the objects of your movement, and as time and opportunity offer, we shall be ready to do everything we can to put these objects into legislative form."

The attention of *Harper's Weekly*, the *New York Sun*, *Times* and other papers that are liable to hysteria when any fundamentally just or radical proposition is made, is called to the fact that the above is not the utterance of a Socialist agitator, but that it embodies the sober conclusions of the Chancellor of the Exchequer of Great Britain.

That the Liberal cabinet will succeed in accomplishing much is the confident expectation of all friends of democracy, but that it will sometimes disappoint us is also to be expected. We, however, were unprepared to find the early hours of the Liberal triumph marked by the refusal of the cabinet minister above all others from whom we expected justice and a resolute allegiance to the principles of Liberalism, to grant justice where considerations of wise statesmanship and expediency no less than those of right demanded the undoing of a great wrong. Mr. Morley has failed in a crucial moment in the opening days of his cabinet service, by refusing to right the Conservative wrong in regard to the partition of Bengal. This is something that is to be deeply regretted, for the act of injustice has greatly aroused the indignation of India's

millions and has done as much, we imagine, as anything in recent decades to fan into dangerous flame the latent hostility of the millions of England's Eastern empire. A wise, broad, just and liberal policy and one that should primarily seek to aid India can alone save this great empire to English civilization and also prove advantageous in stimulating the prosperity and development of the land and her millions.

Mr. Morley had an opportunity—a great opportunity—to turn the rising tide of hatred and aggressive opposition in Bengal into a sentiment of gratitude and loyalty on the part of the Indians, by simply being true to the fundamental ideal of Liberalism and democracy and courageously undoing the work done. This he has refused to do, not because he is ignorant of the fact that this act has aroused the bitter resentment of an overwhelming majority of the people affected, for he has admitted that it was “an administrative operation which went wholly and decisively against the wishes of most of the people concerned”; but it was an accomplished fact, and hence he declined to undo the wrong wrought by the reactionaries. But his act has sown dragons' teeth in India which we fear will lead to bitter fruitage in the coming days.

If the Liberal administration is going to show the white feather or to palter with injustice or wrong,—if, indeed, it fails to push to completion a clear-cut programme embracing fundamental reforms along the lines to which it is pledged, or if it delays in carrying forward the work of undoing the crimes that have humiliated and disgraced England since the Balfour-Chamberlain régime, it will court a merited overthrow.

The heart of the people is sound. The people want justice and advance along the lines of progress and Liberalism. It was the outspoken pledge of such advance that led to the tremendous victory of the past winter. But woe to the leaders if they temporize, dally or compromise with the evils they are pledged to undo. No act of Mr. Morley's life has so disappointed us as this short-sighted and unwise denial of justice to Bengal.

The Universal Ballot for Sweden.

Sweden is in the midst of a momentous battle which naturally deeply interests all friends of democracy. The Staaf cabinet, acting in conformity with the popular sentiment as indicated at the last election, has pre-

sented a plan for universal suffrage for all citizens of Sweden who are twenty-four years of age, excepting those who have been sentenced for crimes. That the bill will be fiercely fought in the upper house seems certain, but it is claimed that the Prime Minister, in the event of its failure to pass, will dissolve Parliament and ask for a new election; so the prospects for universal suffrage in Sweden seem very favorable.

At this writing, as has been pointed out, Austria is contemplating granting universal suffrage, and Italy also is clamoring with commanding voice and increasing insistence for universal suffrage.

Prime-Minister Seddon's New Programme.

Since the election in New Zealand, which gave Minister Seddon's Liberal government 64 members in a Parliament composed of 80, the Prime Minister has indicated some of the first advance steps contemplated on the part of the government. These embrace effective legislation to check monopolies; laws that will tend to foster rapid settlement of land; laws prohibiting men from mortgaging or selling their homes without the consent of their wives; further legislation to discourage if not to render impossible the holding of vast landed estates. The Prime-Minister desires that a limit shall be placed on the area of land that a person may hold. He also proposes to make satisfactory arrangements with the Maoris by which, if possible, five million acres of land can be added to the public supply in the north island, and he proposes that one-half million acres of this land shall be set aside for educational purposes and a quarter of a million acres reserved for charitable aid,—two provisions that are typically illustrative of the broad-visioned and enlightened character of the New Zealand brand of statesmanship.

The Nationalization of The Railways of Japan Another Object-Lesson for The United States.

WITH superb courage only surpassed by the far-seeing wisdom of true statesmanship, Japan has arranged to take over all her railways that they may be operated for the benefit of the nation instead of for the abnormal enrichment of a few people. In this the empire of the Mikado has imitated the most progressive nations of the civilized world—Switzerland and New Zealand—and one of the most

conservative among the wide-awake peoples—Germany. Germany, it will be remembered, with Teutonic caution, operated state roads side by side with those owned and operated by private corporations, until the great advantages to the people and the nation in public-ownership and operation were fully demonstrated. Then general nationalization of the railways ensued.

Switzerland submitted the question of railway ownership to the electorate and the intelligent voters by an overwhelming majority demanded that the people should own and operate these great arteries of commercial and business life. The result has been so satisfactory that many of the strongest opponents of the measure are to-day among the most enthusiastic advocates.

It is in New Zealand, however, that the benefit of popular ownership is most marked, as here the roads have been in the hands of the government much longer than in the two European nations, and there is probably no country to-day where the government is so faithfully and conscientiously operated in the interests of all the people as in this most progressive commonwealth of the Southern seas. This fortunate circumstance is largely due to the fact that the commonwealth has never allowed any powerful interests to gain a footing on the island, so that there has been no great selfish, corrupting body or bodies antagonizing the best interests of the people; and here we find the railways one of the most powerful aids to the prosperity of the masses. They are run for the benefit and enrichment of the producers and consumers and are so operated as to favor home-builders, thus becoming an unmixed blessing to the State and to the people.

The benefits which New Zealand, Switzerland and Germany are reaping from public-ownership have not escaped the watchful vigilance of the alert statesmanship of Japan, but perhaps no factor has been more determining in character than the knowledge of the baleful and subversive influence exerted over the government and against the interests of the people by the railway corporations of the United States. The Japanese could not fail to see that the railways had been the chief corruptors of the national government; that the great Wall-street gamblers and operators of the railway world had become so powerful in national affairs that the people were powerless to gain radical or fundamental relief from

extortions and discriminations. They saw how the criminal rich had watered stock until the traffic was compelled to pay far more to meet dividends and interest charges than would have been required if the government had owned and operated the roads or if the lawmakers had been true to their trust and so faithful to the interests of all the people as to forbid and make criminal the inflation of railway and public-service securities, which made the producing and consuming masses the victims of extortions as morally iniquitous as is usury. They saw how these morally criminal acts, which were a perpetual drain on the hard earnings of the farmers and other producers and on the meager store of the consumers, had been followed by infamous secret arrangements with conscienceless corporations and organizations for the destruction of great competing business interests, and how by these iniquitous conspiracies there had arisen in the nation a feudalism of criminal wealth more powerful than the government and as remorseless in its rapacity as it has been degrading in its influence over political and business ideals. They saw how through princely campaign contributions great parties had been so debauched that men whose intellectual brilliancy, shrewdness and daring were only surpassed by their moral obloquy had been systematically pushed to the front, until in the place of a Senate composed of Websters, Clays and their like we have one composed largely of the puppets of the commercial feudalism—one in which the master-spirits are the Aldriches, the Platts, the Gormans, the Elkinses, the Penroses, the Drydens, the Keans and the Depews. They could not fail to see that the greatest contributing cause of moral degeneracy in political life and of criminal methods in Wall street was the public-service corporations that controlled the natural monopolies of the Republic. And seeing all these things, they determined to avert such deadly peril at any cost.

We in America have allowed ourselves to become the pitiful victims of the absurd sophistries of the enemies of the Republic and the spoilers of the people. We have heeded the cry that the people could not conduct their own affairs, while all the time the public schools and the post-office department were witnesses to the falsity of the claim. We have abandoned the arterial and nervous system of our business life to irresponsible bands who have levied such extortion on the people

that a few have become many times millionaires and the many have been pushed steadily and resistlessly from conditions of independence, ease, prosperity and comfort to those of dependence, insecurity and oftentimes of penury. Wealth, largely through the monopolization of public utilities in private hands and the power it gives to the monopolists, has been rapidly concentrating in the hands of a growing plutocracy which in recent decades has steadily advanced in control of government, and with every advance moral idealism has been lowered, corruption and dishonesty have spread, and reaction and the ideals of class-rule and militarism have taken the place of the old democratic standards that long made this nation the greatest moral power in the world. And thus we see that while New Zealand and Switzerland, Germany and Japan, are exercising wisdom that speaks of the presence of true statesmanship, we are lagging behind, cringing and cowering before the oligarchy of the criminal rich and parroting the empty and exploded sophistries of their hireling bands, while we close our eyes to the success of public-ownership at home and abroad—success in all lands where the people or the government are great enough to assert their rights over the corrupt and criminal bands that waste the sustenance of the masses for the enrichment of the few.

The Indian Congress at Benares.

WE RECENTLY called attention to the rapid awakening of the national spirit in the people of India. The January issue of the *Indian Review* indicates that the recent session of the Indian National Congress was the most significant of all these gatherings. Never before, we are told, has there been such intensity of feeling and fervor of patriotism manifested as at this national gathering. Mr. Natesan, the editor of the *Review*, holds with the distinguished president of the Congress, Mr. Gokhale, that the wrongs suffered by the people during the past fifty years more than aught else have unified and aroused them. This doubtless is one great cause, but there are other factors which we think are quite as potent and probably immediately more so, than this consciousness of subjection and oppression that burns with smothered intensity in the heart of India.

Multitudinous and varied are the causes leading to the awakening in the Old World. The great victory of Japan has aroused all the

peoples of Asia from the inertia of self-satisfaction on the one hand and the feeling of helpless despair on the other. Moreover, the many agencies for the dissemination of knowledge,—the press, the railway, the increased facilities enjoyed by the thoughtful of all lands for coming into touch with the rest of the world, the general educational advance and the filtering of knowledge from above down through the more stolid and ignorant masses below, together with the ever-increasing economic pressure, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say the ever-increasing recognition of the economic pressure,—have all contributed to awakening and unifying India.

Again, the democratic spirit is abroad throughout the world. To-day as at no other moment in the history of the world is democracy intelligently aggressive. Its millions are carrying on an educational campaign in all parts of the civilized world, and though it suffers many defeats and appears to bend before the aggressions of class-rule and the spirit of despotism and reaction, the bending is no sign of yielding. Indeed, it is very noteworthy that in proportion as there is reaction, despotism and injustice, the rebound in favor of the people becomes more and more pronounced, and at the earliest opportunity the masses indicate their rights in no uncertain way. The recent overthrow of the reactionary Conservatives of England is the latest of many examples of this character that might be cited. The ostentatious, lavish, extravagant and hollow pretence of Lord Curzon has also had much to do with fanning to flame the patriotic enthusiasm of the Indian people, while perhaps one of the chief positive factors in the unification and intelligent direction of this newly awakened spirit is found in the Swadeshi movement which we described in the March *ARENA*. This great economic advance work, having for its purpose the scientific and industrial education of the people, their union for mutual protection and the improvement of their estate, has undoubtedly exerted a great influence over the minds of the millions and is bringing them into intimate touch and sympathetic relation with the Indian leaders.

The Unpopularity of Lord Curzon in India.

THE INTENSITY of dislike bordering on a manifestation of hatred toward Lord Curzon on the part of great Indians in the recent

Congress, has also been noticeable of late in leading representative Indian journals, like the *Review*. A large portion of President Gokhale's address was devoted to an exposure of the false pretences of the late viceroy. In justifying the president in giving so much space to Lord Curzon and in referring to the feeling so general among the natives of India toward this official, the editor of the *Indian Review* observes:

"Having been associated with his Government for many years and having come to close quarters with him on many a vital matter of administration, Mr. Gokhale, owing both to personal conviction and recency of experience, was too full of it all to let slip this great opportunity of telling the nation what he thought about the man and his work, and we think Mr. Gokhale did wisely to expose, from his place of authority and in the name of the Indian

people, the pretensions of the greatest and the worst ruler we have had. A new Viceroy has assumed office, and a new Ministry has come into power. Mr. Morley and Lord Minto might be led to believe that the enlightened principles of administration, enunciated in despatches and proclamations, are actually put into practice. They need to be told by a man of high character and eminent position that those principles have been set at naught and openly repudiated, and that India cries out to them for justice. And this cry goes forth, not merely from the educated classes whom Lord Curzon did so much to put down, but from the voiceless millions whom he professed at the Byculla speech to have befriended but upon whom his costly displays, extravagant administration, and warlike missions have piled up a burden out of all proportion to the small measures of relief of which he boasted so much."

"THE CITY THE HOPE OF DEMOCRACY."*

A BOOK-STUDY.

I. THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL RECENT WORK ON MUNICIPAL ADVANCE AND CIVIC INTEGRITY.

IF WE except Professor Frank Parsons' *The City for the People*, there is no volume with which we are acquainted that is comparable to this work by Hon. Frederic C. Howe. It forms an admirable complement to Professor Parsons' exhaustive storehouse of vital facts and luminously emphasizes many of the important truths and arguments presented by Professor Parsons by the citation of typical illustrations proving the sources of strength and weakness, of hope and of danger, in present-day municipal life. Above all, Mr. Howe's work is fundamental in character. It is also so clear and logical as to appeal with compelling force to all open-minded and patriotic citizens. It is a work which will make for justice and democracy, using the latter term

in its broad signification, as opposed to class-rule or the despotism of privilege. It is a book that will make men think and think sanely and earnestly, and when men become great enough to rise above prejudice and shallow emotionalism and reason sanely and earnestly, they will act intelligently under the light of an awakened conscience. They will realize their duty and will act as becomes the honorable citizens of a free state. This work is one of the strongest and best contributions to the rapidly growing literature of democracy that promises to rescue the Republic from imperialistic reaction and the despotism and corruption of the criminal rich who have long posed as the very pillars of society and the business world while debauching the people's servants, exalting the most corrupt, driving into public life the incorruptible, enthroning the boss, substituting the controlled machine for popular government, and through these powerful agencies of despotism gaining riches beyond the wealth of Oriental princes, through

* *The City the Hope of Democracy*. By Hon. Frederic C. Howe, Ph.D. Cloth. Pp. 320. Price, \$1.50 net. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

the corrupt acquisition of franchises and other privileges that have enabled them to rob the present and shackle the oncoming generation.

II. A RATIONALLY OPTIMISTIC STUDY OF MODERN MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

The City the Hope of Democracy is sanely optimistic. By this we do not mean that the author has glossed over evil, that he has ignored the great perils that loom against the political and economic horizon, or that he has unduly emphasized the hopeful aspects of modern municipal life, as is the wont of the numerous writers who are falsely optimistic and who seem to be more intent on not offending certain powerful interests or individuals than on telling the whole truth.

But on the other hand Mr. Howe's broad intellectual vision and judicial bent of mind have enabled him to recognize all the dangers and the full gravity of the present situation, without his being driven to the extreme of pessimism which has marked the fate of so many of our earnest and incorruptible thinkers and which has made their works more cries of despair than messages of strength instinct with that moral stimulation absolutely indispensable to effective aggressive work for human upliftment.

Moreover, nothing in the work impresses the reader more strongly than the splendid humanity that lights up its pages—the luminous spirit of love which, when, as in this case, it companions reason, fortified arguments and a well-considered presentation of conditions present, lifts the discussion to the plane of moral enlightenment and gives it a compelling sway over all conscience-guided minds.

To the brighter aspects of the work we shall briefly revert later, but because the author's presentation of the tap-root of present overshadowing evil conditions in city, state and nation is so fundamental and true, and because the question here discussed embodies in so large a way the supreme issue in the pending life and death struggle between republican government and the despotism of privilege, we shall devote most of our space to this part of the volume.

III. THE RISE AND ENTRENCHMENT OF A DESPOTISM OF PRIVILEGED WEALTH IN THE NATION.

To the student of present-day political problems no fact is more clearly present than the rise and entrenchment of a despotism of privi-

leged wealth in the nation, as destructive to republican government as it is inimical to the prosperity and the rights of the people. On all sides evils have appeared which have rapidly spread throughout organized society, and there can be no hope of a permanent remedy until the true promoting causes are found and the radical remedies necessary to remove them are fearlessly and rigorously applied.

The cities of Europe in the Middle Ages were filled with filth and innocent of drainage and other essential conditions of health. Hence they were periodically the victims of frightful epidemics and pestilences which swept millions of the people to the grave, and these tidal waves of death were attributed to the chastening rod of an inscrutable Providence. Men prayed that the plague might be stayed and that their homes might be exempt, and even while they prayed the hand of the destroyer fell upon them. It was not until the general diffusion of knowledge, not until science, free thought and investigation showed a reluctant world the real cause of the black death and other epidemics, that the true remedies were found and applied in removing the causes of death.

So it is with the social, economic and political evils that are threatening the very life of democracy to-day, polluting the blood of civic life, working nation-wide injustice, with poverty, degradation and crime as resultant effects. Heretofore comparatively little work has been done to stay the rising tide of criminality and political degradation, of graft, corruption and injustice and that disquieting phenomenon that always speaks of the presence of fundamental injustice—suddenly acquired, fabulous wealth overshadowing an ever-widening sea of poverty and hopeless misery. Because our scholars, economists, statesmen and publicists who would change evil conditions have for the most part been led forth on false scents, they have encouraged the evils they sought to remedy and have unwittingly fought against the things that would have righted the wrongs. Democracy has been assailed with much the same vigor and persistence that it received at the hands of the aristocracy of England in the great conflict that preceded the enactment of the Reform Bill and later the democratic advance that destroyed the Corn Laws and made free the ports of England. The cry has been raised that we have too much democracy, when the root of the evil lies in privilege gaining a foothold and so poisoning political life

that we have too little democracy. By following this false lead we have reinforced and entrenched the chief sources of corruption, graft and political degradation in modern municipal life, and the longer we close our eyes to these root causes and strengthen the enemy by playing into his hands, we will not only fail in our efforts to purify city life, but will contribute to the overthrow of republican government and the entrenchment of a plutocracy based on privilege and rendered more potent through the acquisition of fabulous wealth than the thrones once supposed to be divinely hedged about, and the hereditary aristocracy that maintains its power by possession and the strength of tradition and superstition over the minds of the masses.

Now, however, everywhere the more thoughtful philosophers and fundamental students of social and political economy are coming to see that the failures of the present are chiefly industrial and economic, and this volume is "an attempt at the Economic Interpretation of the City. It holds that the corruption, the indifference, the incompetence of the official and the apathy of the citizen, the disparity of wealth, the poverty, vice, crime and disease, are due to causes economic and industrial. They are traceable to our Institutions rather than to the depravity of human nature. Their correction is not a matter of education or of the penal code. It is a matter of industrial democracy. The incidental conditions are personal and ethical."

"The convictions of this volume are the result of several years of actual political experience in the administration of the city of Cleveland, Ohio, as well as of personal study of municipal conditions in the leading cities of America and Great Britain.

"It is the economic motive that explains the activity and the apathy; the heavy burden on reform, and the distrust of democracy.

"Conditions in the tenement are not ethical, not personal, they are traceable to laws of our own enactment. There is no other possible explanation of the fact that destitution is greatest where wealth is most abundant and industry most highly developed.

"Only by exiling privileges shall we exile corruption. Only by offering opportunity to labor shall we close the doors of our hospitals,

almshouses and prisons. Only by taxing monopoly will monopoly be forced to let go its hold on the resources of the earth and the means for a livelihood.

"Two facts must be faced. First, the motive of those who control our politics and whose chief interest in the city lies in the direction of their own advantage. Second, the economic environment of those who are compelled to a lifelong struggle for the barest necessities of existence. It is only by facing these facts that the problems of the city may be solved and its possibilities achieved."

One fact—one great, overshadowing fact—confronts every serious student of present-day political life. "In city and in state it is the greed for franchise grants and special privileges that explains the worst of conditions. This is the universal cause of municipal shame. By privilege, democracy has been drugged."

Here we have the key to the situation. Privilege has corrupted our city, state and national government, and it is through the great business men who by means of special privileges are acquiring enormous fortunes, that the city has been corrupted and our whole system of democratic republicanism has been overthrown or nullified by a system of autocratic usurpation within the democratic form of government.

"The people are not dishonest. At most they are indifferent. The spoils system will not account for all the evil, for civil-service reform has become an accomplished fact in New York, Boston and Chicago. Nor can the blame be laid upon the ignorant foreign voter, for Philadelphia is the most American of our cities—and the worst. There is some influence back of all these, some influence that is universal, and at the same time powerful enough to engage the rich and influential, the press and the party, the boss and the machine.

"An examination of the conditions in city after city discloses one sleepless influence that is common to them all. Underneath the surface phenomena the activity of privilege appears, the privileges of the street-railways, the gas, the water, the telephone, and electric-lighting companies. The connection of these industries with politics explains most of the corruption; it explains the power of the boss and the machine; it suggests the explanation of the indifference of the 'best' citizen and his hostility to democratic reform. Moreover,

it throws much light on the excellence of some departments of city life and the inefficiency of others, for the interest of the franchise corporations is centered in the council, in the executive departments, and in the tax-assessors. It does not extend to the schools, libraries, parks and fire departments, departments which are free from the worst forms of corruption. But the city council awards franchises. It fixes the terms and regulations under which the franchise corporations may use the streets. The executive enjoys the veto power. He controls permits, and exercises an influence upon the council and public opinion. The assessor determines the appraisal of property as well as the taxes to be paid. All these powers are of great importance, and their control of great value. The privilege of tax-evasion may amount to hundreds of thousands of dollars a year. In the larger cities it is measured by millions. In 1908 the special franchises of the public-service corporations in Greater New York were appraised at \$235,184,325. This valuation is confessedly inadequate, and yet even it escaped taxation prior to the passage of the Ford Franchise Law, assessing the franchise as property.

"The franchises themselves are even more valuable than the tax evasions. There is scarcely a city in America of over twenty-five thousand inhabitants in which their value does not exceed the amount of the municipal debt. Careful investigations have been made into this subject in a number of cities. The value in the market of the securities of the surface-railway, gas, and electric-lighting corporations in the Boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx has been estimated at \$400,000,000. The value of the physical property, exclusive of the franchise, is probably well within \$125,000,000. Prior to the consolidation of the City of New York in 1898, the public debt, less the sinking fund, was but \$141,916,520."

Let this fact be clearly understood. It is not the people, it is not any or all of the many reasons given by the thoughtless echoes and parroters of phrases, who have taken up the so-called reasons industriously scattered abroad by the pillars of society who are also the beneficiaries of privilege, that even chiefly explain the cause of corruption and misgovernment in present-day municipal life. Let it furthermore be remembered that it has been "the big business men of the city that awakened

the cupidity of city officials and inspired the theft of the city's most valuable asset from those who were its trustees."

For the immensely rich franchises "the city receives no return." They have been "obtained to some extent through the ignorance of public officials, but mainly through bribery, corruption and a political alliance." And "this is but part of the price that the city is paying to privilege. It is the price that all our cities are paying to those who have requited this gift by overturning our institutions."

"We have been living in a false philosophy. We have not what we want, but what we say we want. We want better government. We say we want a business men's government. We already have a business men's government, supplied through the agency of the boss. But he is the broker of unseen principals who own or control the privileged interests which have identified themselves with the government through the aid of the party. Herein lies the explanation of the inertia of the 'best' people, the languor of reform, the burdens resting heavy on the shoulders of democracy.

"Anyone familiar with political conditions in any one of our large cities knows that the largest campaign contributions invariably come from the street-railways, the gas, and electric-lighting companies. These contributions are sometimes made to the Republican, sometimes to the Democratic party. Officials of these companies control the party committees. They name candidates for mayor, for tax officials, and for the council. In the aldermanic districts the agents of the corporations supply the candidates with funds. In many of the wards they nominate the candidates upon both tickets. In addition to this they control the county auditor, who fixes the appraisal of their property for taxation."

IV. THE EVOLUTION OF THE BOSS AND THE SYSTEM.

"Wherever one may go the same phenomena appear. Always the boss is the recognized agent of the public-service corporations.

"Gradually the interests dependent upon grants, franchises, and privileges have enveloped the government, and developed a System that is highly perfected for business uses. Heretofore, corruption has been haphazard, unorganized, irregular, and occasional.

It dealt with the individual official at some hazard, and with no assurance of success. Within recent years, however, all this has undergone a change—a change too subtle to be easily discerned, but far more insidious and infinitely more dangerous than the conditions which preceded it, and with which we are familiar. Rome did not appreciate that her liberties had vanished, so long as the senatorial oligarchy observed the cherished forms of the Republic. . . . And history has been slow in discerning that slavery had woven itself into the very warp and woof of the government, until it became a System of government as well as an organized privilege prior to the Civil war.

"A similar condition has been developed within the past decade in the Northern States of the Union. It has possessed itself of the patronage of city, county and state. It has enveloped the party and created the machine. Through the machine it controls primaries and conventions; councils and legislatures; mayors and governors. It has even laid its hands upon the courts. This has not been done in an openly corrupt way so much as through the nomination of men of weak or controllable character; men whose predilection, prejudice, or bias is known; men who can be relied upon to stand by the party, to acknowledge the courtesy of the organization, to protect vested wrongs under the fiction of vested rights. All this has been possible, not because the public is indifferent, but because the means employed are so subtle they cannot be easily discerned. There is no crime involved in a campaign contribution, no offence in the control of a party. It is difficult to appreciate that the party is corrupt, for the party is but the organized voice of the people. We cannot believe that the party is no longer a popular organization, when the people are taken into its confidence at every recurring election. Despite this belief, the party has ceased to represent the mass of the people who compose it. This appeared in Missouri, where the regular Democracy had become a systematized fence for dealing in franchises and privileges for steam railroads, for the street-railways, for the baking-powder and school-book trusts. In Wisconsin, on the other hand, the stalwart Republican organization, which relentlessly assailed Governor La Follette, was in alliance with the railroads, seeking to evade taxation and regulation. During the life of Governor Pingree, the Re-

publican party in Michigan was an organized force of resistance against the efforts of the people to acquire the street-railways in Detroit, as well as adequately to tax the railways and mine-owners in the state. In Ohio, the Republican party is little more than a private organization under the control of men whose political influence has been acquired through the franchise corporations in the city and the railways in the state. Through these means they have elevated themselves to office, and then used the powers acquired to secure franchises of great value, to prevent competition, and to evade their proper burdens of taxation. In Pennsylvania the same is true, only there the System involves not only the interests above enumerated, but the protected industries and the mine-owners as well. In New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and West Virginia the exhibit is the same. In one state the Republican party forms the structure of the System; in another the Democratic party serves its purpose. In some states, both parties are involved, for the System is indifferent to the means it employs. It is non-partisan in its dealings, but always regular in its methods. All this has been possible because we have made a fetish of party and abandoned our principles to the leaders, to be dealt in as they wished.

"But while democracy, unfamiliar with the problems of the city government, let itself be drugged by the poison of party regularity, it is no longer primarily responsible for the boss and the machine. For in recent years corruption has been organized into a System of government, which now prevails alongside of the paper one which it controls.

"The boss came in through political apathy. He has grown powerful through privilege. He is the natural and logical product of privilege, and he everywhere perpetuates his power through an alliance with it. And the privileges that he now represents are the great natural monopolies which make use of our streets, the companies which supply transportation, gas, water, electric light, and telephone services. With these are allied the railways, express, telegraph, mining and tariff-born industries, as well as other interests seeking privileges in the state at large.

"Heretofore the city has been governed from the state capital. It is coming to be

ruled from the Senate at Washington, from which body a dual oligarchy of private and political interests are gradually extending their dominion over nation, state and city.

"In this new rôle the boss has become a modern feudal baron, who does homage to his superior, levies tribute on society, and distributes favors with a free hand to his retainers as did his prototype of old. He is the link which unites the criminal rich with the criminal poor. For the former he obtains millions in grants, franchises, privileges, and immunity from the burdens of taxation."

V. THE VAST RAMIFICATIONS OF THE SYSTEM BUILT ON PRIVILEGED WEALTH.

A few decades ago, and it would have been comparatively easy to throttle the privileged interests and rescue city, state and nation to the people; comparatively easy to save free institutions in their purity and vindicate democracy before the world. Now all is changed. The privileged class has ramified itself in state, in church, in press, in college, school and society. Its leaders can place their hands on almost every opinion-forming influence, and it becomes silent or its voice is raised in defence of privilege. Let a great leader arise who is at once honest, fearless and incorruptible, and he immediately becomes the target for all the multitudinous influences at the command of corrupt and criminal wealth. All the agents of privilege begin to strike at him. On the other hand, let a man show unusual intellectual brilliancy, power and acuteness, accompanied by an adaptable conscience, and almost anything is his for the asking, if in return he will pretend to serve the people while being the faithful valet of privilege. Hence the Herculean task for the friends of democracy and civic righteousness.

"And any one familiar with city politics knows that the class so hurt by reform is not an insignificant one, limited to those seeking the franchises alone. It includes the thousands of stockholders; the bankers and brokers who advance money upon and handle the securities; the lawyers who represent, and the press that is controlled by them. Such business interests ramify into clubs and churches. They involve the best classes of the community; a class that is organized, that understands itself, and is perfectly alive to its own interests. It penetrates into social, business, and professional intercourse."

Mr. Howe gives several pages of specific illustrations of the work of the System in which the boss is merely the broker in privileges for the rich and influential citizens who are greedy for the millions to be acquired by the betrayal of the city. He shows the baleful influence of Yerkes in debauching Chicago and Illinois. He shows how in Ohio Boss Cox, a former saloon-keeper and later a banker millionaire, "rose to this eminence by binding together and to himself the rich and powerful members of the community, for whom he secured and protects the franchises of the street-railway, gas, and electric-lighting companies. They, in turn, became his friends and protectors, and through him, and for him, controlled the press and organized public opinion. Through his control of the local political machine, Boss Cox is able to dominate his party in the city as well as in the state; to nominate at will governors as well as members of the legislature, exactly as did Yerkes in Chicago and Butler in St. Louis. By means of this control, he is able to exempt millions of property from its proper burdens of taxation; he has aided in fastening upon the people of his city a fifty-year franchise; he has overthrown the school system of the commonwealth as well as the form of government of the cities; he has finally acquired rights of immense value in the canals of the state."

In the chapters devoted to "The Source of Corruption" and "The Boss, the Party and the System" we have the strongest, clearest and most convincing picture of the root causes of the present corruption and shortcomings of municipal government with which we are acquainted—a narrative so luminously presented and so fully fortified by illustrations of unquestionable character that we cannot conceive of any intelligent and unprejudiced person reading these pages without being convinced of the soundness of the author's reasoning and the correctness of his diagnosis.

VI. THE WAY OUT OF THE SOCIAL QUAGMIRE.

Things will necessarily go from bad to worse so long as we permit private individuals to own and control public utilities, for the ever-increasing millions they reap will lead to more and more general corruption and an ever firmer grip on the people of the city and the state by the over-rich beneficiaries of privilege.

"In many parts of the Union real democracy has become little more than a shadow, the substance has passed into the hands of the great business interests whose privileges depend upon an alliance with government.

"We cannot hope to enjoy better government so long as we offer such splendid prizes to those who will conspire against the government. Nor can we attach the best talent to the commonwealth so long as riches, power and influence are to be obtained through an alliance against the commonwealth. Improvement will only come when such opportunities are removed, when all classes of citizens, whether rich or poor, find that their interests and their honor lie together. And such a condition can only be brought about through the removal of the cause of it and the identification of all classes with the state, rather than against it.

"Democracy itself is not primarily at fault. It is not the people who are corrupt. Men do not bribe themselves. . . . The positive agents of evil, the real enemies of the republic, those to whom the corruption of state and city is primarily due, form but a small class, a very small class. And they are identified with privileges, whether they be railway or mine-owners resisting taxation or regulation; or the traction, gas, water, telephone, and electric-lighting interests seeking franchises."

Mr. Howe shows how attempts at regulation in the presence of the powerful beneficiaries of monopoly rights in public utilities have proved unsatisfactory when not positively ineffective. "Aside from public regulation, there is but one alternative, and that is public-ownership." So long as private interests control the public utilities, the master-brains of the community will be largely arrayed against the interests of the city, and with them will be the chief public opinion-forming influences that are directly or indirectly controlled by privilege in one form or another. Thus we find that:

"In St. Louis it was not the press, the financiers, the lawyers, or the influential men who backed reform. Reform hurt their most profitable business. Not until the common people came forward did the world know that the people of St. Louis had any sense of civic shame."

Private-ownership is enabled to command

the ablest talent and thus ranges an army of trained minds to work for the defeat of the interests of the city and the people.

"It is also responsible for the corrupt and ignorant in our politics. Through the power of these influences the party ticket is determined. The slate is selected with the aim of securing men who can be controlled by friendship, fear, or purchase. We see such influences at work from the presidency of the United States down to the ward councilman. The people are playing at the game of politics blindfolded—the System plans each move with the skill and foresight of an expert in mimic warfare. The System is at work three hundred and sixty-five days in the year."

Now to restore the government to the people, to overthrow this most subtle and dangerous form of despotism—a despotism of privileged wealth masquerading under the mantle of democracy—we must strike at the root of the evil.

"We can only reclaim all men to the city, we can only place the best talent in the council, we can only destroy the class-conscious antagonism that is growing up in our cities, by striking deep into the roots of the System through the public-ownership of the natural monopolies through which big business has come into power."

On the importance, the practicability and the result of municipal-ownership, Mr. Howe says:

"That municipal-ownership would greatly diminish, if not wholly correct, most of the abuses of municipal administration I am firmly convinced. On this point we are now able to make some suggestive comparisons. For our cities already perform many functions. And the citizen may judge for himself whether the water company, which the city owns, is in politics more than the gas company which it does not. Does it maintain a lobby in the city council or at the state capital? Does it elect men to office to advance its interests? Does it contribute to campaign funds? Does it prevent reform through the creation of a class interest? Does it deprive the city of its best talent and divorce even the professional world from participation in politics?"

"In efficiency of service, the public water-companies equal, if they do not surpass, the

privately owned ones. In almost every city the service rendered is cheaper and better, measured by cost and the convenience of the people, than that offered by the traction companies, the gas or the electric-lighting plants. All this is to be expected. For the city is able to, and in most states must buy in the cheapest market. The credit of the city is of the best. It can borrow money at from three to four per cent. It has no dividends to pay on watered stock. It is constantly under scrutiny. And with rare exceptions, engineering talent of a good order is placed in charge of municipal enterprises.

"Examination, too, will show that the corruption and extravagance in public expenditure is exaggerated. It is doubtful if it is more prevalent in public than it is in private business. Public affairs are conducted in the open, they are under the scrutiny of competitors: prices paid are always accessible, and the methods of checking in vogue are more elaborate, if not more effective, than those in private concerns. Further than this, in many cities, all purchases in excess of a small minimum can only be made after competitive bidding. In large contracts, the city often buys more cheaply than does the private individual. The city's credit is good. There is no delay in payment. It buys in large quantities, and a certain prestige follows sales to the government.

"Further than this, with the temptation to great profit removed, the talent now grouped about the franchise interests would be free to work for the city. Its interest would then jump with its patriotism, and along with the rest of the community it would demand good service, low charges, and efficient management. One of the advantages of municipal-ownership is that it converts every citizen into an effective critic. He can register his complaint at the polls. It frees the press and engages its energies in the city's behalf. Every public employé would then be subject to daily inspection by thousands of masters; while bad service would have to pass examination at the polls.

"Moreover, municipal-ownership will create a public sense, a social conscience, a belief in the city and an interest in it. And it can come by no other means, for so long as the city touches us in but few conscious ways, so long shall we be indifferent to it. But every added

contact educates our sense of dependence and affection. The schools are a great agency in this regard. So are the parks and the libraries, whose administration we jealously guard."

The march of public-ownership is in the line of advancing civilization.

"Society emerged from savagery through social organization. Liberty, enlightenment, and culture have all come through an increase in public functions. All of the present agencies of the state are an encroachment of society into the realm of private activities, and each, in turn, has given an added freedom to the individual and in no way threatened the liberty of initiative that those who challenge further activities fear. The ultimate object of all effort is to protect the individual and enlarge his sphere of opportunity. The hundreds of functions now performed by the city, from the police department to the parks, are an exercise of public control. But instead of taking from us liberty, they guarantee it. They secure liberty to work or to play, in our homes or on the streets. The common care of education and of health leaves the individual free to pursue his work at the lowest possible cost to himself. In this same sense, the city is a great wealth-producer. It is but part of the division of labor that characterizes modern life."

Our author holds that there is a well-defined line of demarcation between the functions that should be performed by the city and those that should be left for private control.

"That line is fixed by monopoly. Whatever is of necessity a monopoly should be a public monopoly, especially when it offers a service of universal use. So long as the service is subject to the regulating power of competition it should be left to private control. For monopoly and liberty cannot live together. Either monopoly will control or seek to control the city, or the city must own the monopoly."

To the favorite bogie raised by those who own and control the corrupt boss and the machine, and who debauch the people's servants for enrichment, that public-ownership would lead to the enslavement of the people to an office-holding class, Mr. Howe replies:

"Nowhere is municipal government seriously menaced by the office-holding class, nor by a machine built upon that class. But

wherever privileged interests have identified themselves with the city, and through money, bribery, or campaign contributions, secured control of the party, real democracy has practically come to an end, and a new sort of oligarchy has come in; an oligarchy which observes the features of democracy and respects its paper forms, but which has taken the city's agents into its own employ and uses them for its own pecuniary advantage."

VII. DOES MUNICIPAL-OWNERSHIP PAY?

If municipal-ownership did not pay in dollars and cents, the conditions confronting the people are such that it would be imperatively demanded in order to save the government, to overthrow the rapidly growing despotism of wealth, to check the rising tide of political and business corruption and graft, and to destroy the fountain-head of evil—the oligarchy of the criminal rich whose fortunes, raised on privilege, should belong to all the people.

But municipal-ownership does pay, and it pays in double wealth. When we discuss this question we find that we have two considerations involved: one the high ethical consideration; the other, the lower of material return. Happily, it will be found on investigation that municipal-ownership pays in higher civic morality and also in dollars and cents. On this point our author observes:

"But there is another standard of value than the tax rate, another standard of utility than money cost. The question should rather be, does municipal-ownership pay in a higher civic morality, an aroused public sentiment, a union of all forces against corruption, a higher standard of comfort, a better quality of service, a dearer sense of the city? Such are the standards by which we measure all other expenditures; such is the justification of our police and fire departments, our schools, libraries and parks, our health, street, and charity departments. Municipal dividends do not compare in importance with municipal health and well-being, with a cleaner home environment, an enlarged opportunity for life. These are the standards by which every public activity is to be measured, and in these regards municipal-ownership has justified itself.

"But fortunately we need not accept the alternative suggested of increased cost. For the balance sheets of public trading are their own justification. The City of New York has already expended \$200,000,000 on its

docks. It realizes annually in the form of rentals and charges \$3,000,000, and \$879,929 after paying all interest charges and expenses. From its markets it obtains \$315,000, and over one and a half millions net from its water supply. The city of Cincinnati, corrupt and inert as it is, earns a large revenue from the Cincinnati Southern Railway, which was constructed by the city to save its business from railway monopoly, and \$300,000 a year from its water-works. Chicago has owned its water-plant for upwards of fifty years, and aids its rates to the extent of \$1,250,000 a year from this source. The city of Cleveland has a water-plant valued at \$9,141,266, exclusive of depreciation, with but \$3,557,000 of bonded indebtedness against it; and including as earnings the water supplied to schools and public buildings for fire protection and the like, it earns nearly three-quarters of a million dollars annually, after meeting all charges.

"As a matter of fact, more than half of our cities own their own water supplies. And these cities include almost all the larger ones in the country. Even the foes of municipal-ownership admit the necessity of public management here. The interest of the community is so great that it cannot with safety be left in private hands.

"But not only are the public water plants in America almost all profitable, but they are the best plants in the country from an engineering point-of-view. The city is limited by no terminable franchise. It can build for the future. A private company, threatened at all times by public-ownership and inspired only by a desire for dividends, cannot do this. It pursues a hand-to-mouth policy. In some instances financial difficulties do not permit of any other policy. At any rate, the engineering in city undertakings has been of a more permanent, enduring, and intelligent quality than that of the private companies."

Mr. Howe gives page after page of returns showing the enormous yield of wealth to the city treasury, the great value in reduced cost of service, and the improved condition and wages of labor that have followed municipal-ownership in various cities in the Old World and the New,—an array of evidence that though familiar to those who have carefully investigated the subject, is not generally known. The wonderful results in Great Britain, Germany and elsewhere prove beyond the perad-

venture of doubt what reason and common-sense would suggest,—namely, that when public utilities that are to-day netting a few individuals from three to ten million dollars a year are operated by the city for the benefit of the people, the city and the people receive the benefits now diverted to the pockets of the public-service corporations, the corrupt boss and the corrupted servants of privileged interests whom the boss foists upon the people to misrepresent and betray them. No person, we believe, who is not blinded by self-interest, can read the two chapters in which our author considers "The Way Out" and "Does Municipal-Ownership Pay?" without recognizing that along this pathway alone lie municipal progress and civic integrity.

VIII. DIRECT-LEGISLATION.

Our author appreciates, as do all the more broad-visioned statesmen who are not the servants of privilege, the importance—the imperative importance of Direct-Legislation to meet present conditions and preserve the government to the people.

"Along with this demand for home-rule is a growing sentiment for direct-legislation through the initiative and referendum. This is but a further expression of the spirit of democracy. . . . Its purpose is to democratize legislation, to enable the people to assume control of affairs, and insure responsible as well as responsive government. It provides a secure defence against corruption. For lobbyists will not buy legislation that cannot be delivered, or which is subject to veto by the people. The referendum will reestablish democratic forms, which have been lost through the complexity of our life, the great increase in population, the misuse of federal and state patronage, and the illegal combination of the boss with privileged interests.

"The initiative, referendum, and recall will enlarge the legislative body until it embraces all the people. It will dissolve the alliance between the boss and the privileged interests and put an end to the corruption which follows a control of the party."

This survey will indicate our author's line of reasoning and reviews on the great subject of

municipal corruption and misrule, and how the evil may be banished in such a way as enormously to enrich the cities while restoring democratic government.

The chapters on "The Cost of the Slum," "The City's Wreckage" and "The Wards of the City" deserve special attention. Mr. Howe dwells at length on the treatment of society toward youthful delinquents and toward erring girls and women and other victims of our social order, in a manner worthy of twentieth-century enlightened statesmanship. The whole discussion breathes the noble humanity that pervades Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*, while profoundly thoughtful are the chapters devoted to "The City Republic," "The City Beautiful," "The City for the People," and "The Hope of Democracy."

IX. THE CITY'S TREASURE AND THE REVENUES OF THE CITY.

In "The City's Treasure" and "The Revenues of the City" we have a luminous discussion of the natural wealth which should be the source of the city's revenue, because it would be the revenue that the municipality has a perfect right to enjoy. And this revenue, if faithfully collected, would be sufficient to make the city a little republic of artistic beauty, rich in all that would enhance and make life fuller, sweeter and happier in so far as externals can contribute to the development and happiness of the individual. And these revenues would, if we were wise and sane enough to be logical and just, be derived from the natural monopolies or public utilities and from the unearned increment in land—that value which the holder of the land does not create, but which is made by the people—by society, and which is therefore in justice due to society.

The City the Hope of Democracy is a book so rich in vital truth, so instinct with the higher wisdom and statesmanship which is the hope and promise of the twentieth century, so luminous with the spirit of humanity or the new conscience, without which there can be no spiritual growth or permanent uplift, that we would urge every reader of *THE ARENA* to place it among the few books that he places on the list as works that he should purchase and study.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

A History of the United States and Its People.
By Elroy McKendree Avery. Vol. II.
Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 458. Cleveland:
The Burrows Brothers Company.

THE SECOND volume of Dr. Avery's monumental history of America confirms the expectations raised by Volume One. It is a thorough work, scholarly but not pedantic—a history that reflects and epitomizes the verified historic data of our preceding historians, and that is of special worth in that accuracy has been made the crowning aim of both author and publishers. An illustrative example of this is found in the action of the publishers, who destroyed several hundred dollars' worth of expensively engraved plates, portraits and illustrations made for this volume, when after exhaustive research for verification it was found that the pictures were fanciful rather than true, or when there was serious question as to their authenticity, and, as in some cases, where portraits that have long passed muster as representing certain eminent Colonial leaders proved to be pictures of members of the same family belonging to much later generations.

Volume Two is concerned with our Colonial history. It opens with Champlain and New France and passes to a discussion of "The Evolution of a Colonial System," after which "Virginia Under the Charter" engages our attention.

In the chapters on "The Settlement at Manhattan" and "New Netherland" we have a consecutive story of the sturdy attempt of the Dutch to gain a permanent foothold in the New World,—a losing battle, largely due to the cupidity, tyranny and misgovernment of those who represented the Dutch West India Company.

A large portion of the volume is devoted to the Colonial history of New England. In "The Growth of Separatism in England" and "The Pilgrims" we have sketched in a

background absolutely essential to a comprehensive understanding of the Pilgrim Fathers and the principles for which they stood. The chapters devoted to "The Council for New England," "Massachusetts Bay," "Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson," "Connecticut Plantations and the Pequot War," "Annexation and Confederation," "Massachusetts Troubles," "The Puritan and the Heretic," and "A Glimpse at Plymouth" embrace the history of Colonial New England, clearly outlined and treated in an admirable spirit, judicial, temperate and sufficiently comprehensive for the general reader. "Maryland Before the Restoration" and "New Sweden" with its tragic fate are also chapters of special interest, the whole forming a vivid and informing panorama of the Colonial period.

Dr. Avery deserves great credit for the fine spirit of impartiality manifested in these pages, especially in noting the battle of free thought and religious tolerance with the iron will of the old-time religionists who not only thought they knew God's will a little better than any one else, but who were determined to compel all men to bow to their conception of what was the truth. The broad spirit of religious toleration which marked the charter obtained by Lord Baltimore for Maryland contrasts strangely with the narrow savagery of the Puritans of Massachusetts, especially in their treatment of the Baptists and Quakers.

Very interesting and suggestive is the history of the Dutch in the settlement of New Amsterdam. These men came from one of the freest lands of Christendom; but autocratic power had unhappily been delegated to the Dutch West India Company, and the rule of New Amsterdam was marked by a spirit of reaction and despotism that would have satisfied the ideals of the most anti-democratic ruler of the age, while not two hundred miles east of New Amsterdam was the Pilgrim colony of Plymouth where the broad democratic spirit imbibed by the colonists during their ten-years' sojourn in the liberty-fostering atmosphere of the Netherlands was reflected

* Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

in a democratic government and a degree of religious liberty and toleration rarely found in that age.

One of the great features of excellence in this work is the complete manner in which important but hitherto generally ignored historical facts are treated essential to a perfect understanding of our Colonial history. Comparatively few people, even among those who regard themselves as intelligent, have anything like a clear conception of the great and fundamental difference that marks the Pilgrims and the Puritans. No superficial treatment of this subject would be sufficient to clear away the general ignorance and misapprehension that exist. Our author, however, wisely devotes a whole chapter to Separatism in England and the struggle for religious independence and non-conformity, which was followed at length by the flight of such as were able to evade the lynx-eyed officials. The Presbyterians as well as the Church of England exhibited the intolerant and persecuting spirit which at this period was also in full flower in all the great Roman Catholic lands. The Separatists were the true Independents, and under the leadership of men who reflected the broader, truer and more liberal religious spirit that has continually expanded in the more democratic nations, became in a large way the pioneers of freedom and democracy. Many of these splendid men and women of high moral convictions escaped to Holland where they found a refuge, while their companions in England remained true to their ideals. After ten years of sojourn in the free Netherlands, where the little band imbibed great draughts of freedom and where their conceptions of government were wonderfully broadened, a large proportion of the little company pushed out over the seas to the New World. Their compact, corresponding to a constitution, was democratic in character, and the breadth of spirit and Christian toleration of the Pilgrims was in bold contrast to the narrow, bigoted and cruel spirit exhibited by the Presbyterians or Puritans who settled Salem, Boston and adjacent regions and who established a theocracy, with the result which ever follows the attempts to join church and state,—despotism and persecution by those who blasphemously assume that they have a monopoly of Divine truth.

Another interesting feature of this work is the extended history of the settlement of the free and liberal colonies or plantations in

Rhode Island which became a veritable city of refuge and an asylum for the persecuted ones of New England. Here the principles of free government and democracy were more greatly furthered than anywhere else in the New World. Dr. Avery calls attention to the fact that here we find the first introduction in this country of what is now known as the initiative and referendum. On this point he observes:

"On the nineteenth of May, 1647, the inhabitants of the mainland towns of Providence and Warwick and the island towns of Portsmouth and Newport met in convention or mass-meeting at Portsmouth to put the new government into operation. . . . Similar conventions were held in May of 1648, 1649, and 1650. Step by step, a frame of government with legislative, judicial and executive departments was worked out and a code of laws was enacted and a bill of rights adopted. An interesting feature of the legislative system was what is now well known as 'the initiative and the referendum.'"

Judging from the first two volumes, this history will prove indispensable to all thoughtful Americans who wish to be thoroughly familiar with the story of our great land. The typographical excellence of the work is in keeping with the author's literary efforts. Illustrations, type, paper and binding alike reflect the high-water mark in the book-making art.

The Saxons. A Drama of Christianity in the North. By Edwin Davies Schoonmaker. Boards, Cloth Back. Pp. 214. Chicago: The Hammersmark Publishing Company.

The Saxons is one of the best reading dramas that has appeared in years. The thought is elevated and it is presented with the dignity that such a theme requires; while considered as an imaginative work it deserves special praise at a time when the paucity of strong and original work is one of the most painful facts in relation to American literature.

Moreover, there is much fine philosophy interwoven throughout the drama which deals with the attempted subjugation of the Saxons by the militant and fanatical Christian church of the Dark Ages.

Intellectually and philosophically the play is divided into three grand divisions or group-

ings in which men and women are seen acting under the compulsion of widely varying ideals. Thus the Saxon group reflects the fine, rugged and in many respects normal spirit of our primitive ancestors of the North. They are still the children of the forest, the lovers of freedom and of justice, but to a certain extent under the influence of the mythology of the North.

A second group represents the narrow, militant and fanatical theocratic influence of the Dark Ages. These persons are for compelling all men and women at the peril of their life to believe as they believe. They have dwelt on the Blood Atonement idea until their thought is tinged with blood, and from the ideal of the Sacrificial Lamb on Calvary they have harked back to the savage scenes of Old Testament history till they have become as blood-thirsty and fanatical as were the Jews in the early days. They are also intensely superstitious—in this respect even more so than the Saxons. Intolerance, fanaticism, lust for power, the spirit of persecution and the baleful influence of superstition which marked the church during and after the Crusades are here vividly brought out, and the author displays remarkable knowledge of psychology in depicting the growth of the religious mania which ends in practical insanity in the case of the more pronounced fanatics.

The third influence with which the play is concerned is found in the Abbot of St. Giles and his fellow-workers. Here one sees pure and undefiled religion—religion in which reason sways the conscience and man is under the compulsion of the fundamental moral verities. The Abbot is a man of broad vision. While others are worshipping the church and are engrossed in narrow concepts of religious truth, he is worshipping the Infinite All-Father. He is a student of Plato and the philosophers no less than of the great Nazarene and the theology of the Jews. Many of the thoughts which our author puts into his mouth are reflections of the noblest religious concepts of our age.

There are supernatural agents brought into the play which add weird interest to the drama.

Though there are many very strong dramatic passages and though the scenery would make many magnificent stage pictures, we imagine that the play would have to be materially changed and much of the written word eliminated if it were to be successfully staged.

It is, however, with the composition as a reading drama that we are concerned, and as such the play will prove a work of deep interest, affording much pleasure and mental stimulation.

Songs in a Sun Garden. By Coletta Ryan. Cloth. Pp. 102. Price \$1.00. Boston: Herbert B. Turner & Company.

THIS volume of poems by a gifted young woman deserves more than passing notice, as there is much imagination displayed in some of the lines—something all too rare in present-day verse. Many of the poems are also rich in rhythmic and musical qualities that tend to sing the lines into the mind of the reader. We note with regret the absence of the strong note of humanitarianism voiced in protest against unjust social conditions that marked the poems contributed by Miss Ryan to *The Coming Age* a few years since and which led us to hope that she would take up the poetic mantle laid down by John Boyle O'Reilly. In these earlier poems there was present the same recognition of the cruel wrongs suffered by the poor through unjust conditions that flamed forth in the poems of Charles Mackay and Gerald Massey during the Anti-Corn-Law and Chartist agitations in England, and in the burning verse of Lowell and Whittier during the anti-slavery agitation with us. These poems, so rich in promise, led us to hope that in Miss Ryan the poor of the Republic would find a powerful voice in the battle for economic emancipation, and the absence of these lines and others of a similar character is a distinct disappointment to us. One of the best poems in the volume is the following entitled "God Is Near":

"God is trying to speak with me and I am trying to hear;

But the angry roar of an angry sea
Has told my soul that it is not free;
And my strange, imperfect ear
Has only caught, on the breast of day,
The strain of a song that is far away,—
So I sit and listen and humbly pray,
For God is near.

God is trying to speak to me and I am trying to hear.

The sea that held me has gone to sleep,
And still is the voice of the cruel deep,—
No longer shall I fear.

I have found the chord that is true and right,—
The chord of Promise, and Love, and Light,
That comes to banish the curse of night.

God is near.

God is trying to speak to me and I am trying to hear.

Away with the gold that is won by death
Of mind and body. (O Nazareth!

O living, breathing tear!

Away, away with the realists' hand,
Away with the tyrants that slave the land,
For the heart must sing and the stars command.

(God is near.)

And soothe and comfort the voice of pain,
Man's Eden must return again,
And the Christ that suffered must live and reign.

(God is near.)

And hush and silence the battle's din,—
And lift forever the mists of sin
That veil the wealth of the God within.

(God is near.)

And strive, O strive to be brave and true;
The world is dying of me and you
And the deeds undone that we both might do!
(God is near.)

God is trying to speak to me and I am trying to hear.

O pray that we may not grow too weak
To hearken to One when He tries to speak

Through prophet, saint, and seer.

And love his image that fills the eyes
Of men and women that seek the skies;
For the soul must die if it will not rise!
(God is near.)"

Here is another fine little verse entitled
"Aspiration":

"In life what wouldst thou wish to be?" said they
Who gathered 'round me at the close of day.

'Listen, my friends,' I answered; 'I would be

A faithful lighthouse by the human sea,—

Firm, resolute, immovable, I'd shine,

Baptized by breakers, sainted by the brine;

A loyal flame of loving thought, a light

Defying dangers, triumphing o'er night;

A kind persistent spark, that would extend

O'er rock-bound sea-coast for a helpless friend;

A changeless, towering sum of strength to show

The safety of the waters. . . . Friend and foe

I'd shelter and inspire; nor would I fail

Nor falter in the tumult of the gale.

Ay, this the joy my soaring soul would find

To shed its constant blessing o'er mankind.

A stately word immortal, I would gleam

Above the depth and darkness of the stream.

High, hopeful, ever married to my post,

I'd be a lighthouse on the human coast,

A tranquil mother, pausing not for sleep,

A watch-tower ever smiling o'er the deep."

In lighter vein are Miss Ryan's verses to her little dog. They are lines that will be appreciated by those who have pets who have crept into their affection by their revelations of affection and intelligence:

"My brindle bull-terrier, loving and wise,
With his little screw-tail and his wonderful eyes,
With his little white breast, and his white little
paws,

Which, alas! he mistakes very often for claws;

With his sad little gait as he comes from the fight,
When he feels that he has n't done all that he
might!

Oh, so fearless of man, yet afraid of a frog.

My near little, queer little, dear little dog!

He shivers and shivers and shakes with the cold;
He huddles and cuddles, though three summers
old,

And, forsaking the sunshine, endeavors to rove
With his cold little worriments under the stove!

At table his majesty, dying for meat,—

Yet never despising a lump that is sweet,—

Sits close by my side with his head on my knee

And steals every good resolution from me!

How can I withhold from those worshipping eyes

A small bit of something that stealthily flies

Down under the table and into his mouth

As I tell my near neighbor of life in the South.

My near little, queer little, dear little dog

So fearless of man, yet afraid of a frog!

The nearest and queerest and dearest of all

The race that is loving and winning and small;

The sweetest, most faithful, the truest and best

Dispenser of merriment, love and unrest!"

We believe that Miss Ryan has a bright future if she continues in her literary work and gives her mind and heart full play, for she is a young woman of strong emotion, a child of the imagination, and if no conventional or reactionary power curbs or holds in check her higher and finer impulses, she will do much fine and vital work.

The Sage-Brush Parson. By A. B. Ward.
Cloth. Pp. 390. Price, \$1.50. Boston:
Little, Brown & Company.

THIS is one of the strongest and most human stories we have read in months, and though in treatment the tale is romantic and at times melodramatic, the atmosphere is markedly realistic, making the story, in spite of its romanticism, redolent of the soil and instinct with the life of the rugged and rough mining-world in the arid, parched and barren sage-brush country of Nevada, where nature hoards her treasure under a stern and austere mantle and where mighty mountains and canyons compass the desert plains.

Into this western mining-camp, rich in its types of mankind and strong in the boldest contrasts, into a community where men are at once reckless of human life, liberal in their patronizing of the saloons and lavish in their use of profanity, enters the brilliant but erratic Methodist clergyman,—a born poet, a genius, with all the eccentricities and contradictions of such a character; a man with a prophet's

tongue of flame and a heart that is as human as his aspirations are divine; a man in whose finely-strung nature we see as though through a magnifying glass the ever-present conflict that is waged in all our lives—the battle between the higher and the lower. Here, too, we see in an impressive way the manner in which often in life things seem to conspire to carry one to a catastrophe—times when even the noblest acts and deeds become malignant in their influence upon the fate of the victim, bearing him relentlessly toward the dark chasm. Here also are pictured the lights and shades of life; the periods when all seems well, the days when all goes wrong.

The hero, Clement Vaughn, was born with a bad heredity, but was dedicated at his birth by his parents to the ministry. He is finely educated and in addition to his clerical education he has studied medicine, surgery and music and has delved somewhat into scientific subjects. He is considered handsome and highly magnetic. He is a master-musician and is by nature a poet and an idealist. It is not strange, therefore, that such a youth falls in love with an English girl and marries her in spite of the fact that there is little if anything in common between them save physical beauty and a certain magnetic attractiveness. The girl soon tires of him and he of her. She is worldly and a lover of the good things of life, as the superficial term them. Vaughn's high aspirations are little understood; his religious ideals she holds in contempt. Naturally enough they drift apart. Soon their worlds have little in common. The young minister's health fails; he seems entering a decline, and is induced to visit his sister in Nevada. She persuades him to take a missionary field in Eureka, a mining-town not many miles from her home. This he does. His wife in England is furious and declares she will obtain a divorce. She returns his letters unopened and refuses to see Vaughn's English friends whom the minister sends to visit her and strive to persuade her to join him in the Western home.

It is, however, chiefly with the strange and in many respects terrible Western mining-town and with the cultured, refined and wealthy inhabitants of Richmond Hill, which overlooks Eureka, that the tale is concerned. Here events varied in character, some bright and humorous, some gloomy and sinister, some thrillingly exciting and others darkly ominous, follow in quick succession.

The beautiful, refined and wealthy Katharine Chisholm falls in love with the Sage-Brush Parson, as Vaughn is called. He, too, feels the spell of her charm. They drift toward each other without either being conscious of the nature of the spell fate is weaving. At last the English wife appears. A terrible tragedy follows. The minister is accused of murder, tried, and sentenced to be hanged. He is reprieved and pardoned because of his innocence. The changed front of the town, the fidelity of Jack Perry, of Katharine and a few others, and the reaction on the establishment of Vaughn's innocence are vividly set forth.

Some passages are intensely dramatic and from first to last the interest of the reader is sustained. One scene is rather too suggestive of Mark Twain's Buck Fanshaw's Funeral to prove as effective as it otherwise would be, but as a whole the book comes to us as a realistic and faithful presentation of the rough, rugged life peculiar to the mining camp, and with the central figure a sort of Hamlet in the drama,—colossal, being composite as well as typical.

On the Field of Glory. By Henry Sienkiewicz. Translated by Jeremiah Curtin. Cloth. Pp. 334. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

THIS is a stirring romance of the days just prior to the second great siege of Vienna, when all Poland was aflame with the fires of religious enthusiasm and the whole nation was preparing for the great conflict on which hinged the fate of Western Europe. It was only through the wise strategy of King John Sobieski and the valor and determination of the Poles that the Turkish invasion was repelled and the crescent went down before the cross.

Against this historical background the author of *Quo Vadis* has painted a powerful and fascinating love-story, all the characters in which stand out in bold relief—strong, typical, virile. The beautiful and charming heroine, Panna Anulka, and her knightly lover, Yatsek; the lovable old ex-soldier and priest, Father Voynovski, whose heart still thrills at the talk of the coming war, although he has long since consecrated his life to the church; the brutal and repulsive Martasian, whose wicked plots against Panna Anulka make one's blood boil; and the simple and amusing, but thoroughly good-hearted and well-meaning brothers, the

four Bukoyemskis, named after the four Evangelists, all pass across the stage of the story as living, breathing men and women.

An added interest attaches to the work when we call to mind Mr. Curtin's words in regard to Polish life and character at the present time. "Polish character in most of its main traits," he observes, "was developed completely even earlier than the days of Sobieski, and the men who appeared then in action differ little from those of the present, hence the pictures in this volume are perfectly true and of far-reaching interest in our time."

Mr. Curtin's work as a translator is too well known to need comment here. In the present volume as in his previous work he has admirably preserved the distinctive Polish atmosphere of the story while giving us a finished literary production.

AMY C. RICH.

Lads and Lassies of Other Days. By Lillian L. Price. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 180. New York: Silver, Burdett & Company.

THIS little volume is a companion to *The War for Independence* by Mr. Tomlinson. It contains eleven stories of Colonial and Revolutionary days, written in a style to appeal to

the imagination and interest of children, and like the other volume, it is well calculated to arouse in the young a strong interest in the early history of our country—an interest in the rugged period of the Colonies and the still more exciting days of the great Revolution. The tales are simply and charmingly told and they will deeply interest the normal child. The book is well calculated to serve the purpose of the author and is worthy of wide circulation.

The War for Independence. Short stories by Everett T. Tomlinson. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 178. New York: Silver, Burdett & Company.

THIS volume contains sixteen excellent short stories written for young people, dealing with revolutionary days and incidents. The tales are the descriptions of true happenings connected with the lives of men and women about whom history has taken little or no note. They are written in a style that will appeal to the young and will stimulate an interest in the history of our country. The book is one we can conscientiously recommend for children from ten to fifteen years of age.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

CRIMINAL WEALTH versus COMMON HONESTY: We desire to call the special attention of our readers to Mr. BRANDT's extended paper on "Criminal Wealth versus Common Honesty," as illustrated by the Mutual Life Insurance Company in relation to the Armstrong investigation, the Truesdale Committee's work and the aftermath. This is an important chapter of much historic value apart from its timeliness and its worth to the cause of civic righteousness that is now assuming so commanding a place in the minds of thoughtful citizens everywhere. The insurance scandal and the artful attempt to lull the people into a sense of security and further deceive them is but one chapter in the history of the aggressive plutocracy that is being written by contemporaneous events throughout the Republic. Every great trust, most of the great railway corporations and the public-service corporations,—in fact, all the privileged classes and groups are for the most part the active

sections of an arrogant and subversive plutocracy—the communism or feudalism of corporate wealth that is destroying free institutions, debauching national ideals, plundering the people and enormously enriching the mentally shrewd but morally insane who have so aptly been termed the "criminal rich."

The Railways of Colorado in the Pageant of the Throne-Powers: Another chapter in the same story of criminal aggression and business and political subversion is given by the Hon. J. WARNER MILLS in this issue. It deals with the railroad corporations of Colorado and the part they have played in overthrowing free government, lowering moral standards and oppressing the people. Every thoughtful American should read these extremely valuable contributions from the able pen of Mr. MILLS, for what is true of Colorado is equally true of Pennsylvania, New York and various other commonwealths.

The British Labor Party: No event of recent months has awakened such profound interest in all free governments as the wonderful victory achieved by the Labor Representation Committee of England at the recent election. As England in 1832 and again in 1846 showed the world how a free people could inaugurate radical revolutionary changes and win great fundamental victories without the shock of force, so in the recent election the workers of Great Britain have given the world a vitally important lesson in showing how they can win justice for the toilers and further the great democratic movement for equality of opportunities and of rights by merely uniting at the polls and supporting men who are pledged to further the interests of the workers instead of being the servants and special-pleaders of corporate wealth and privileged interests. The English labor leaders have so clearly shown the toilers how easy it is for a peaceful revolution to be accomplished under the machinery of democracy that already panic reigns in the ranks of the criminal rich of America lest this element will no longer be able to hold the toiling millions in leash. On the day when Labor enters the political arena, plutocracy and the undemocratic reaction that is destroying free government will be overthrown. On that day government by injunction and other poisonous plants sown by reaction, militarism, imperialism and despotism will be uprooted. Mr. DIACK's paper in this issue is one of the most timely and interesting discussions of the month.

Our Series of Contributions on American Art and Artists: In this issue we give the first of our series of papers on representative American artists. This contribution has been prepared especially for THE ARENA by the brilliant author and essayist, Mr. GEORGE WHEARTON JAMES. Mr. JAMES is one of the most charming writers in America to-day and this paper is written in his happiest vein. The admirable reproductions of some of Mr. GRANT's best work add greatly to the interest of the paper. It is our determination to make this series of general interest and of real value to a great original American art.

Bolivar: The South American Liberator: Another illustrated paper in this issue has been prepared by Professor FREDERIC M. NOA and is the second of his series on heroes and builders of South American states. Bolivar's life is one that must ever hold interest for friends of liberal government, and Professor NOA in his brief but delightful contribution has outlined this career in so lucid a manner that the reader will not only be educated and informed,

but in most instances he will, we think, be led to study more about this wonderful man and the wonderful lands which he emancipated from the thrall of Spanish tyranny.

The Primer of Direct-Legislation: Instead of our conversation we this month publish the first chapter of our "Primer of Direct-Legislation," or manual of guarded representative government. This chapter deals with the Referendum. It has been prepared with great care by the leading Direct-Legislation authorities of America. The questions were submitted to each of the gentlemen whose names appear in this connection, after which Professor PARSONS, President of the Massachusetts Referendum League and author of *The City for the People*, Mr. RALPH ALBERTSON, Secretary of the Massachusetts Referendum League, and the Editor of THE ARENA spent half a day in carefully editing and collating the answers. The whole was then submitted to President POMEROY of the National Direct-Legislation League, who made many excellent additions, after which the committee of which Professor PARSONS was chairman spent another half day in putting the whole into its final form. Our aim has been to present the case for the Referendum in as concise yet lucid a manner as possible; to present it in such a way that the ordinary reader can easily grasp and understand exactly what is meant by this important provision in guarded representative government. The Primer has been prepared primarily for the Arena Clubs, but a general Macedon cry has come up for it from all parts of the land. Hence we publish this part in THE ARENA somewhat earlier than we had intended. The chapter on the Initiative will follow shortly.

What Our Universities Are Doing for American Literature: The paper which we publish this month from the able pen of EDWIN DAVIES SCHOONMAKER, the scholarly author of *The Saxons*, is of far more than passing value. It is one of those fundamental and extremely important discussions that should receive the serious attention not only of all educators, but of all persons aspiring to do great and worthy literary work. We believe the author has placed his finger on the chief cause of our failure to develop a great American literature. Our methods are wrong, or if not entirely wrong they leave the most vital side of literary training untouched. And what is true in literature is measurably true in art and in education in general. This paper is, we believe, one of the most suggestively helpful educational discussions of recent months.